

Inter-America

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE



Contents:

CONTRASTS AND TENDENCIES IN LATIN AMERICA

MAXIMILIANO AVILÉS 67

Export American Industries, New York; and *Las Nuevas Tendencias Económicas*, Buenos Aires, Argentina

COSTA RICA AND THE WAR:

I DEMOCRACY AGAINST BARBARISM Editorial 70

La Información, San José, Costa Rica

II THE NEXT WAR "SOUTH AMERICAN"

La Prensa Libre, San José, Costa Rica

A PERUVIAN AUTHOR WHO DIED FOR FRANCE "

GONZALO ZALDUMBIDE 73

La Revue, Paris, France

THE OLDEST DAILY OF SOUTH AMERICA SAMUEL EICHELBAUM 77

Caras y Caretas, Buenos Aires, Argentina

POPULAR EDUCATION RAFAEL MONTORO 79

Revista de Educación Pública, Habana, Cuba

THE BEGINNINGS OF ARGENTINE PAINTING MARCO SIBELIUS 82

Augusta, Buenos Aires, Argentina

THE CHRIST IN AGONY RICARDO PALMA 88

A selection from the work *Tradiciones Peruanas*

IMPRESSIONS OF THE VOLCANO OF SAN SALVADOR

ROMEO FORTÍN MAGAÑA 91

Actualidades, San Salvador, El Salvador

HOW LONG? M. A. DÍAZ 95

El Carnaval, San Juan, Puerto Rico

THE EVOLUTION OF RIGHTS AND POLITICS CARLOS OCTAVIO BUNGE 98

Revista de Filosofía, Buenos Aires, Argentina

THE BOMBARDMENT OF PARIS AND THE EXTRAORDINARY CANNON

ANTONIO BEINGOLEA 116

Informaciones y Memorias de la Sociedad de Ingenieros del Perú, Lima; and *Revista de la Asociación Politécnica del Uruguay*, Montevideo

CARLOS GUIDO Y SPANO RICARDO ROJAS 120

La Nación, Buenos Aires, Argentina

PERUVIAN ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION CARLOS LEDGARD 124

Mercurio Peruano, Lima, Perú

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ANNOUNCEMENT

THE purpose of INTER-AMERICA is to contribute to the establishment of a community of ideas between all the peoples of America by aiding to overcome the barrier of language, which hitherto has kept them apart. It is issued alternately, one month in Spanish, made up of diversified articles translated from the periodical literature of the United States, and the next month in English, composed of similar articles translated from the periodical literature of the American countries of Spanish or Portuguese speech.

INTER-AMERICA thus serves as a vehicle for the international dissemination of articles already circulated in the several countries. It therefore does not publish original articles, nor make editorial comment. It merely translates what has been previously published, without approving or censuring, in order that the reading public of all the American countries may have access to ideas current in each of them.

INTER-AMERICA is established at the instance of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, one of whose objects is to cultivate friendly feelings between the inhabitants of different countries, and to increase the knowledge and understanding of each other by the several nations.

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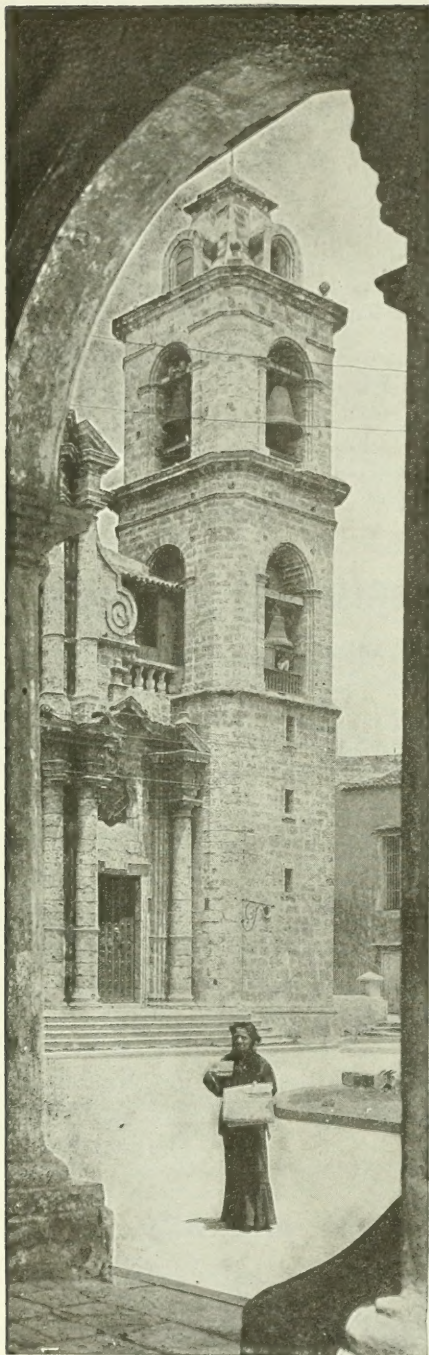
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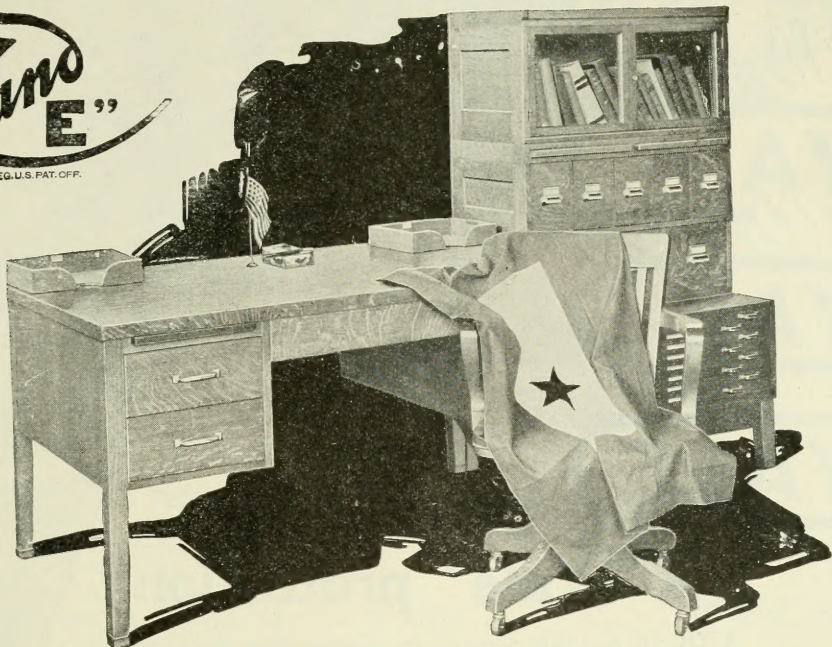
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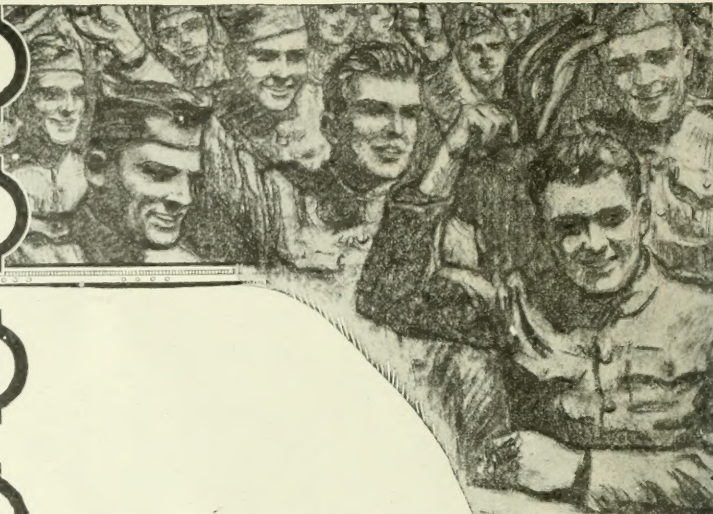
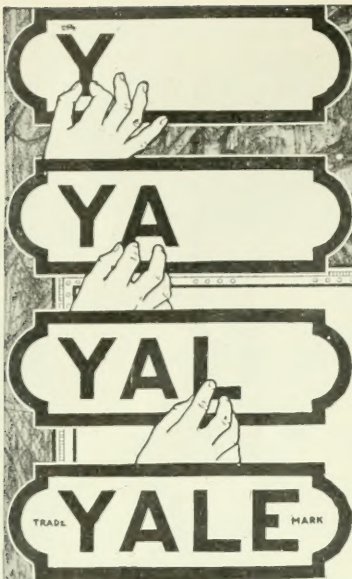
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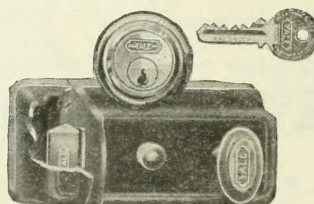
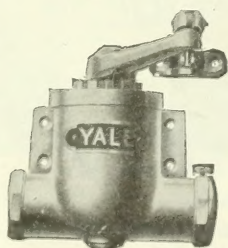
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CONTRASTS AND TENDENCIES IN LATIN AMERICA	MAXIMILIANO AVILÉS	67
<i>Export American Industries</i> , New York; and <i>Las Nuevas Tendencias Económicas</i> , Buenos Aires, Argentina		
COSTA RICA AND THE WAR:		
I DEMOCRACY AGAINST BARBARISM	Editorial	70
<i>La Información</i> , San José, Costa Rica		
II THE NEXT WAR	"SOUTH AMERICAN"	
<i>La Prensa Libre</i> , San José, Costa Rica		
A PERUVIAN AUTHOR WHO DIED FOR FRANCE	GONZALO ZALDUMBIDE	73
<i>La Revue</i> , Paris, France		
THE OLDEST DAILY OF SOUTH AMERICA	SAMUEL EICHELBAUM	77
<i>Caras y Caretas</i> , Buenos Aires, Argentina		
POPULAR EDUCATION	RAFAEL MONTORO	79
<i>Revista de Educación Pública</i> , Habana, Cuba		
THE BEGINNINGS OF ARGENTINE PAINTING	MARCO SIBELIUS	82
<i>Augusta</i> , Buenos Aires, Argentina		
THE CHRIST IN AGONY	RICARDO PALMA	88
A selection from the work <i>Tradiciones Peruanas</i>		
IMPRESSIONS OF THE VOLCANO OF SAN SALVADOR	ROMEO FORTÍN MAGAÑA	91
<i>Actualidades</i> , San Salvador, El Salvador		
HOW LONG?	M. A. DÍAZ	95
<i>El Carnaval</i> , San Juan, Puerto Rico		
THE EVOLUTION OF RIGHTS AND POLITICS	CARLOS OCTAVIO BUNGE	98
<i>Revista de Filosofía</i> , Buenos Aires, Argentina		
THE BOMBARDMENT OF PARIS AND THE EXTRAORDINARY CANNON	ANTONIO BEINGOLEA	116
<i>Informaciones y Memorias de la Sociedad de Ingenieros del Perú</i> , Lima; and <i>Revista de la Asociación Politécnica del Uruguay</i> , Montevideo		
CARLOS GUIDO Y SPANO	RICARDO ROJAS	120
<i>La Nación</i> , Buenos Aires, Argentina		
PERUVIAN ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION	CARLOS LEDGARD	124
<i>Mercurio Peruano</i> , Lima, Perú		

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BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

REGARDING THE AUTHORS OF THE ARTICLES THAT APPEAR IN THIS NUMBER

MAXIMILIANO AVILÉS was born in Añasco, Puerto Rico, in 1883, and he was educated there; he came to the continental United States about sixteen years ago, and since then he has resided in New York, with the exception of occasional absences, while traveling elsewhere in the United States and in the other American countries and Spain; in 1907, he published *Fuerza de acción*, parts of which have been reproduced in many later publications by others; although he has written a number of articles for trade journals, he is distinctly a man of affairs, and at present he is the vice-president of an important New York export house.

GONZALO ZALDUMBIDE is an Ecuadorian man of letters and journalist who has spent a number of years in the diplomatic service of his country; at present he resides in Paris and is the secretary of the legation of Ecuador in that city.

RAFAEL MONTORO is a Cuban publicist who has occupied important posts in the national administration and diplomacy of his country, and at the present time he is secretary to the president of the republic of Cuba.

RICARDO PALMA, who may be regarded as the dean of Spanish letters in America, now in his eighty-sixth year, was born in Lima, Perú, February 7, 1833; in his youth and early manhood he spent much time traveling in Europe and the United States, and later he took a prominent part in politics, occupying important offices of the government until 1873, when he became director of the Biblioteca Nacional and devoted himself exclusively to literary pursuits. Among his numerous works may be mentioned *Anales de la inquisición de Lima* (1863), *La Bohemia limeña de 1848 a 1860*, *Verbos y gerundios* (1879), *Tradiciones peruanas*, three volumes (1893) *Apéndice a mis últimas tradiciones* (undated, but published after 1909), and *Poesías completas* (1911).

CARLOS OCTAVIO BUNGE, regarding whom considerable data is given in connec-

tion with his article printed in this issue, was a lawyer, sociologist, historian and man of letters; he served as secretary of the Argentine legation in Spain, and he was afterward a judge of the Argentine criminal court of appeals, a member of the Faculty of Law and Sciences and of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Buenos Aires; he attended the Second Pan American Scientific Congress, held in Washington, December, 1915—January, 1916, as a delegate of the Argentine Society of International Law.

ANTONIO BEINGOLEA is an engineer and a lieutenant colonel of artillery in the Peruvian army.

RICARDO ROJAS is an Argentine man of letters; for a number of years he has been professor of literature in the Universidad de la Plata; he is the author of the following works: in verse, *La victoria del hombre*; *Los lisis del blasón*; *La sangre del sol*; *Los cantos de Perséphone*; in prose, *El país de la selva*; *Cosmópolis*; *El alma española*; *Cartas de Europa*; *Blasón de plata*; *La restauración nacionalista*; *La universidad de Tucumán*; *La argentinidad*; *La ronda de la muerte* (stories); *Caliope* (discourses and lectures); *La literatura argentina*, which promises to be one of his chief works, and which is to consist of four volumes, as follows: I, *Los gauchescos*; II, *Los coloniales*; III *Los proscritos*; IV, *Los modernos*. Of these, I and II have been published, III is on the press and IV is in preparation. He has also directed the publication of the following works: *Archivo capitular de Jujuy*, three volumes; *Bibliografía de Sarmiento*; *Poesías de Cervantes*; *Biblioteca Argentina*, 18 volumes.

CARLOS LEDGARD is a lawyer, man of letters and financier, who has traveled a great deal in Europe.

It has not been possible to secure data regarding the other authors whose articles are to be found in this number.

CONTRASTS AND TENDENCIES IN LATIN AMERICA

BY

MAXIMILIANO AVILÉS

This brief article is a broad and striking analysis of the intellectual, social and economic tendencies that at present characterize the Hispano-American countries as a whole, and of the forces at work in them, individually and unitedly, and it emphasizes the fact that if, here and there, disturbing and hindering errors and reactions are observable, they are spasmodic, and but symptomatic indications of a general forward movement.
—THE EDITOR.

FROM the southern frontier of the United States to Cape Horn there extend twenty republics of common origin and, with slight variations, of common language. These nations possess great natural forces, which are now latent and now manifest, now slumbering and now self-destroying. They are peoples of incredible contrasts: they possess mines of fabulous wealth that are not exploited; lands of astonishing fertility that are not cultivated; men of energy and vast and noble talent that neither construct nor guide; memories of a past that do not inspire them; visions of a future that do not set them in motion. Nevertheless, the contrast is relative; for the Ibero-American countries have also that in which there is a norm of already definite social action: regions of very fruitful economic activity; persons who individually or collectively are working for the common good. Their problems of civic organization, internal and external policy, agricultural and industrial promotion and national instruction are as rugged as the very Andes themselves. Here a Chimborazo of enthusiasm, there a desert of listlessness. Beneath the surface of the life of these peoples, however, there are currents that follow their persistent course toward the inevitable triumph of Latin America. He who, as he analyzes our countries and judges of them in all their aspects, ever assigns to them a humiliating place, divides them or classifies them to belittle their strength and declare them irredeemable in order to drive them to suicide by the path of pessimism, thinks ill, criticises ill and practices

ill. These peoples are to-day passing through one of the phases of their progress. Their conscious and their unconscious inharmonies are transitory. Latin America possesses a finality that will take form in the course of time; and time flies with the powerful wings of a condor.

There exist here the fundamental elements of great peoples: a language that unites and mingles them; an ethnic origin almost identical; a future that offers exalted glories through common effort. Regarded as a whole, as one regards the sea, they form a compact, homogeneous group. Present disdain and indifference are not final and unalterable conditions, but incidents that will disappear when mutual pride and mutual interest spur wills and direct purposes. There is in this immense territory immeasurable wealth, which the native will learn how to utilize: mines, agriculture, innate intelligence in those who come to the front here and who develop there. Forces and factors there are, to-day unrelated and therefore useless, which are susceptible of an astounding development in the day in which they unite and place themselves systematically at the service of individuals, countries and the great patria.¹ There is a field of action for the present generation and for the generations to come that must be defended at all cost, and this need for defense is in itself a favorable element, because it stimulates individuals and draws together kindred peoples. There is room for a good immigration; there are forests to fell, valleys to cultivate, peoples to civilize.

¹"The great patria" is ordinarily America or Iberian America.—THE EDITOR.

With these riches, with these elements, the peoples of Latin America are going forward. Progress and victory are not attained directly and immediately, but with the rhythmic movement of impulses and reactions, advances and retirements, victories and defeats. For this reason we refuse to accept the verdict of prevalent criticism, which consigns our peoples to absorption and servilism, and we bind ourselves to an active struggle in order to contribute to the development of Latin-American nationality.

There exist other forces and factors still that are more readily translated into positive facts. There is already being formed here a middle class conscious of its right to liberty and of its civil prerogatives. Ideas of true liberalism are now being disseminated, and the working classes of many of the republics demand well defined institutions and procedures. No longer is our great pride based merely upon bygone glories and subtle idealisms; and both the individual will and the collective conscience seek the exercise of productive work and tangible merit. We catch a glimpse of something like a virile movement. From this spirit of enterprise, this initiative that is being developed, will spring order, system, formulas. The educated classes lean toward the development of agriculture, as yesterday they inclined to the cultivation of the fine arts. The directors of policy will seek victories in the true realization of beneficent deeds and methods, as yesterday they found them in the unconscious subjection of the weak classes. Savings will be brought together to form mobile and active capital, as yesterday they were buried beneath mysterious trees, upon the banks of unknown rivers. The youth that hesitates to-day and to-day yields to the drag of an enervating surrounding medium will be able to-morrow to initiate and to win success in the field of an organized and triumphant patria. Idle lands will become fertile estates. Those who crouch to-day will stand erect to-morrow. With the vital impulse of the Latin-American and the stimulus of this epoch of such productiveness, we shall learn how to destroy hurtful influences, how to exploit our lands and

use our riches, to form generations of solid, active and enterprising men, to spread the idea of an extensive and formidable patria.

We have the germ of an energetic society. There exists, although in embryo, a class possessed of great economic potentiality. In retired regions, in almost inaccessible corners, there are poor fellows in miserable huts, who seek blindly the means of securing social and economic freedom. Among the peoples, there are not lacking, in the ranks of autocratic groups, of the lettered and of the slumbering masses, young men who long to dedicate their productive years and their vigorous energies to some practical undertaking that will make them independent and elevate them. The small landowner of the country and the humble laborer of the cities know now about modern systems for good and rapid production. The farmer introduces his tractors, employs pumps for supplying water, fells a part of his forests in order to saw and dress the lumber, installs plants with motive power to elaborate his products with efficacy. Simultaneously, industry progresses in the more important centers. We now possess manufactories for the production of what was wholly imported yesterday. In the line of construction and in manufacturing operations, very advanced machines and methods are being employed. Consumption is vast, colossal, and it serves to stimulate production. In like manner, commerce is extending; acquiring greater vigor and influence, taking on complexities of great importance. In all the republics of Latin America may be observed to-day a tendency to leave the narrowness of an elemental and rudimentary life, in order to seek in the bustle of universal activity a gymnasium that will invigorate, elements that will give life and wealth, methods and formulas that will save.

The same is occurring in the social realm. In the most obscure corners of our mountains, has awakened a desire to know; in the most miserable settlements, there are those who entreat for schools. Beneath the layers of culture that exist in great centers and among the wealthy classes may be noted small advances in

hygiene and education. The illiterate masses exist, but they do not rule. If, indeed, we have not the moderating and disciplining system of democracy and industrialism, it is undeniable that the spirit of evolution is moving effectively in our social components. The manual laborers are classifying and grouping themselves, and from this process will spring the specialization of trades, professions and aptitudes. The intellectuals who inspire

and the authorities who direct are now trying to conserve life, improve habits and better the public health.

From such progress in our economic and social life are germinating institutions that will respect the rights of individuals, overcome the obstacles that to-day render collective action difficult, and enable our peoples to unfurl the standard of the great patria, the standard of the condor aloft upon the summit of the Andes.



COSTA RICA AND THE WAR

DEMOCRACY AGAINST BARBARISM

EDITORIAL

II

THE NEXT WAR

BY

"SOUTH AMERICAN"

Two articles, taken respectively from *La Información* and *La Prensa Libre*, of San José, Costa Rica, the first of them an editorial, and the second signed as above, have been brought together here under a single title. The editorial, *Democracy Versus Barbarism*, after an arraignment of the central powers, and a hearty commendation of President Wilson and of the United States, occupies itself mainly with an expression of approval of the President's condemnation of lynching, with copious extracts from his open letter of last summer.

The Next War is a presentation of selections from the writings of prominent Germans, tending to show that Germany has been preparing for some time for a future war, from a conviction that war is the proper and necessary test of national virility, and that the prosperity of Germany depends upon making herself feared by the world.—THE EDITOR.

I

TO STRUGGLE against barbarism is one of the mottoes of the present war. The Allies are struggling against "civilized" barbarism, against the methodical and modern barbarism of the Teutons of the central empires. The Germans and all their allies are rightly accused of having committed inhuman acts, acts such as were not committed by the warriors of past ages; and every new assault of theirs is a Miss Cavell, white and anguished, who falls beneath the bullets of ruffians; a Captain Fryatt, cruelly assassinated; a *Lusitania* sunk; a city burned; a deportation; each act of barbarity adds fuel to the war and bestows new spiritual and material elements upon the Allies for the struggle.

One may not fight against barbarity, if he commits barbarous acts. President Wilson came face to face with this problem. When the United States entered the war, it unfurled the noblest, the cleanest, the most beautiful of banners. "We are the champions of the liberty of the world, and the defenders of justice and humanity."

This is the motto of the great country

which is now making its weight felt in the conflict in a decisive manner; now constructing vessels almost magically at Hog Island and other shipyards; now sowing its fields in enormous proportions; now sending to Europe its hosts that have proved their heroism in divers epic combats. The motto, however, does not belong to something that is taking place within the United States, and this is the hateful practice of lynching, a violation of all the existing principles of justice and humanity.

To remain impassive in the presence of this condition would be impossible for President Wilson, whose doctrines are absolutely opposed to every act of violence and aggression, and who, in order to place the world and the United States in safety from such acts, led his country to war.

Because of the recrudescence of lynching, occasioned by the rebellious acts of certain negroes against conscription, and because of the suspicions that fell upon certain foreigners whom the masses considered to be spies, the President of the United States felt compelled to issue a proclamation prohibiting lynchings and condemning the conduct of all those who start or commit them, those who make an

attack upon the honor of the nation and ought to be considered as treasonable sons of the American democracy.

President Wilson says:

There have been many lynchings, and every one of them has been a blow at the heart of ordered law and humane justice. No man who loves America, no man who really cares for her fame and honor and character, or who is truly loyal to her institutions, can justify mob action while the courts of justice are open and the governments of the states and the nation are ready and able to do their duty. We are at this very moment fighting lawless passion.

Germany has outlawed herself among the nations because she has disregarded the sacred obligations of law and has made lynchers of her armies. Lynchers emulate her disgraceful example. I, for my part, am anxious to see every community in America rise above that level, with pride and a fixed resolution which no man or set of men can afford to despise.

We proudly claim to be the champions of democracy. If we really are, in deed and in truth, let us see to it that we do not discredit our own.

The President then hurls a definite and fiery anathema at those who insist upon lynching, and he says to them:

I say plainly that every American who takes part in the action of a mob or gives it any sort of countenance is no true son of this great democracy, but its betrayer, and he does more to discredit her by that single disloyalty to her standards of law and right than the words of her statesmen or the sacrifices of her heroic boys in the trenches can do to make suffering peoples believe her to be their savior.

How shall we commend democracy to the acceptance of other peoples, if we disgrace our own by proving that it is after all no protection to the weak? Every mob contributes to German lies about the United States what her most gifted liars can not improve upon by way of calumny. They can at least say that such things can not happen in Germany except in times of revolution, when law is swept away.

I therefore very earnestly and solemnly beg that the governors of all the states, the law officers of every community, and, above all, the men and women of every community in the United States, all who revere America and wish to keep her name without stain or reproach, will cooperate—not passively, merely, but actively and watchfully—to make an end of this disgraceful evil.

I have called upon the nation to put its

great energy into this war and it has responded—responded with a spirit and genius for action that has thrilled the world. I now call upon it, upon its men and women everywhere, to see to it that its laws are kept inviolate, its fame untarnished. Let us show our utter contempt for the things that have made this war hideous among the wars of history by showing how those who love liberty and right and justice and are willing to lay down their lives for them upon foreign fields stand ready also to illustrate to all mankind their loyalty to all things at home which they wish to see established everywhere as a blessing and protection to the peoples who have never known the privilege of liberty and self-government.

The vibrating sincerity of this proclamation, the honesty with which he condemns one of the acts that dishonors the United States, the call which he issues to conscientious men to make an end of the hateful practice, all the elevated idealism that shines in this document, has led us to reproduce it in its most substantial paragraphs, with the assurance that our readers will peruse it with the greatest consideration.

II

THE NEXT WAR

To those who truly know the Prussian mind, it will seem incredible that, after four years of sanguinary strife, when the civilized world longs for a peace based on liberty and justice, Germany, by means of her philosophers, writers, statesmen and rulers, should be proclaiming the need for another war; but the truth is that these intellectuals are preparing public opinion for the next military enterprise, as is proved by the following quotations from some of the publications that have been issued with this object.

The German deputy, Wildgrube, in a discourse to the general agrarian assembly, said:

When will the next war break out? The future still guards the secret; but that this war must occur we see clearly to-day; it is the implacable logic of events.

There has been distributed an official circular addressed to volunteers who have served or are serving during the present war, and it contains this question:

Are you prepared to enlist henceforth in the same service for the next war?

Even German socialists are infected with the idea that war is an element of progress and culture. Doctor Renner holds, in a book of recent publication, that the establishment of a supreme power is an essential condition to peace and order in the world, a power that shall legislate and enforce the laws for the nations, as the state does for its own nationals.

According to him, there are two ways to secure this ideal: by war and by a treaty. War has been an instrument of historical progress and of unification. He quotes the Roman empire and the Roman peace as great blessings for humanity obtained through war. So, in the future also, the world may well obtain order and progress by means of military selection; and the nation that proves to be the greatest organizer will be called by history to the complex work of organization, thus acquiring the right to become the supreme power, the judge, the administrator and legislator of peoples. In this way the author announces to us a Germanic peace—for there is no doubt regarding the nation that will be called upon to perform this duty, since Germany as a nation is the best organizer, whether or not she be the strongest organization; and no other nation aspires to be a supreme power and believes in war as an instrument of peace and union.

This propaganda of a new war makes use of the methods that characterize the Teuton mentality, which claims to base itself upon science, ethics and philosophy. Germany has invented the science, the jurisprudence, the ethics, the philosophy and even the theology of war; for theology has become the generator of the spiritual activity of this race. The representatives of religion have not escaped this contagion. A noted prelate published, in 1917, four sermons entitled: *Objects and Duties of War*, in which occur these ideas:

We could not develop in the world except by the force of arms. It is thus, as among our enemies, that the sword has been made an integral part of dogma.

Eucken, the professor of philosophy, wrote, in 1917:

At first sight, war and civilization exclude each other; but history teaches us that this idea is untenable. War destroys appearances and adds to the recognition of the truth. It drives man to action, which is his reason for being; it renews the moral individual; it revivifies culture by overcoming the spirit of relaxation.

Professor Ziegler says, in his work upon *War and International Science*:

The German army is not animated by a spirit different from that of the German people. The two are but one. It is to be feared that we lose in peace the moral qualities that we have acquired in war. We ought not to consider war as a test, as a negative force: on the contrary, war is a factor of civilization, not because of its possible consequences, but in itself and in its essence.

Faulbett says that "peace is an international state that implies the lack of character and personality," while war is, according to him, "the most elevated ideal."

Professor Brandenburg, in his work *Les buts de guerre de l'Allemagne*, writes:

It may be asked with just right if there is not an ethical need, more important than the question of peace, that the world shall belong to the strong peoples, to the exclusion of weak peoples. War only can decide who is the stronger and who is the weaker. A nation whose public men are guided by the love of peace is in sheer decadence and ought to disappear. The German empire ought to be stronger than yesterday, both upon the land and upon the sea.

Professor Hansch affirms:

The German empire will always be a military state, or it will cease to exist. We do not need to win more victories in the world; we need only one thing—that the world shall fear us. Among individuals, love may be the surest basis of harmony and peace; among nations, it is fear and nothing but fear.

This idolatry of war, this perverted mentality, is a pernicious condition that it is necessary to eliminate, in order to assure the civilization, liberty and the peace of the world. The fraternal and valiant alliance will continue this great work, without relaxing its effort for a moment, and making all the sacrifices that may be necessary to obtain the cherished and glorious results.

A PERUVIAN AUTHOR WHO DIED FOR FRANCE

BY

GONZALO ZALDUMBIDE

Many heroic Americans, in addition to those of the United States, have figured prominently in the great war that is now rapidly drawing to a proper conclusion, invariably, in so far as information is obtainable, on the side of humanity and knightliness, usually in services involving extraordinary aptitude and danger. A striking example of fruitful if tragic abnegation is presented in the military career of the subject of this sketch, who gave himself for the land that had become a second mother to him, saying simply and nobly: "I have made use of French culture for my advantage; it is but right that I should defend it." The author of this article wrote also the interpretation of Rodó, published in the October, 1918, number of INTER-AMERICA.—THE EDITOR.

FRANCISCO, Ventura and Juan García Calderón have just published—in a magnificent limited edition of subdued richness and in perfect taste—the writings and drawings of their brother, José García Calderón,¹ who died on the field of honor at Verdun, at the age of twenty-eight.

Had these *reliquiae* possessed no artistic value, they would yet have borne witness to a great soul; but his literary and artistic quality is so evident, so striking and so rare, that admiration for the writer and artist wells up spontaneously, quite aside from the respect which always surrounds the hero consecrated by death.

Rarely, however, does death crown a more disinterested heroism. Even among veritable heroes, one may perhaps distinguish between those who—in obedience to the innumerable voices calling from the distant past and from ages to come, from future cradles and from unknown graves, all mingling with the dust from which such heroes are fashioned—went to defend themselves and to die; and those who had first to silence within them other sacred voices before they could listen to their own impetuous hearts alone. So, the former were heroes without having to face a

dilemma, almost without choice, witnesses to the blood from which they sprang. They yielded ardent and proud submission at the behest of their ancient race. May we not, however, perhaps find more beautiful the absolute sacrifice, the deliberate isolation in the plenitude of disinterestedness, the gift of self, the freest gift of which we can conceive, offered by one who could have remained without reproach far from the fierce conflict, and who yet threw himself into it, of his own free choice, in generosity of spirit and with magnificent ardor.

There was nothing to compel this young foreigner, with a wondrous future opening before him, to leave all he loved in order to lay himself upon the altar of an ideal of his own choosing. Offspring of an illustrious family, born with a gift and a love for art, everything bound him to his home among beautiful hopes and the things that best suited an intelligent and noble life untouched by care. When, however, he saw the Germans advance, he said to himself: "I have made use of French culture for my own advantage; it is but right that I should defend it." So, in the very opening days of the war, he enlisted in the Foreign Legion.

There, a private soldier, lost in the heterogeneous mass of the Foreign Legion, he, so accustomed to a proud, almost fierce independence, made no hardship of submitting to the rigid discipline of trench life, side by side with the most humble, in that grim band of death. He took seriously his calling of a soldier, and, as in everything he undertook, his profession became a passion with him. He accepted every

¹The father of these four distinguished men was Francisco García Calderón, an eminent Peruvian statesman who served as rector of the Universidad de San Marcos, in Lima, and as president of the republic; he died in 1905. Among other literary enterprises, he collaborated with Cornelius A. Logan, one time minister of the United States to Perú, in writing: *Mediación de los Estados Unidos de Norte América en la guerra del Pacífico* (between Perú and Bolivia, on the one side, and Chile, on the other), Buenos Aires, 1884.—THE EDITOR.

restraint with fervor, that he might serve more intelligently. In all he did, he bore upon his grave, eager face revealing tokens that won for him a position where a man was needed, and not merely a gun. He was not slow to distinguish himself there through his inventive genius and his prompt action, for now he had become the simple expression of a clear intelligence and a will quick to serve. He took no account of his body, "a responsive machine, an obedient animal," as he himself described it, which he had accustomed to the most severe voluntary discipline. He was indignant when an officer, who had observed him, wished to spare him a little trouble or danger. He rather sought out difficult enterprises, as a test and discipline for his firm heart. The thought that he was, by virtue of his position, however unimportant, a conscious atom in the immense struggle, and the idea of contributing to the "great drubbing," as he said, with a manly, intelligent laugh, daily exalted him.

Thus, step by step, on the battle-fields, he gained many marks of distinction: he was promoted to a second lieutenancy and he won the *croix de guerre avec palmes*, as well as the confidence of his superior officers. As observer in a captive balloon, he invented, that he might coördinate his observations, a system of signals which the general staff of aviation adopted at once. Sent into many sectors to teach observation to the "novices," he went from post to post, upon missions of the greatest importance and delicacy, until he reached Verdun, at the moment of the supreme combat and . . . there he met his death.

From early youth, he ordered his life in harmony with the arduous aspiration that kept his spirit upon the plane where lofty designs prevail. Struggle with himself, watchful self-discipline, compelling longings for perfection, mastered in him the impulses of a headstrong nature. He collected his dominant powers and seemed to hold himself always in readiness for great endeavors. A kind of tragic instinct stirred his soul, which could find expression only in an heroic life. So his death on the

field of battle was for him, as it were, the most natural death and the most worthy. What renders the sorrow of it unbearable is the thought of the spiritual and intellectual riches that returned with him to the dust, and of all that he might have created in token of his ideal.

If it is true that he reserved his best for the future in which he hoped to see his destiny fulfilled by the flowering of those ardent possibilities of perfection he felt to be stirring within him, he has, nevertheless, left some first efforts that are complete and perfect in themselves.

His posthumous book does not contain promises alone. It abounds with pages developed to their full perfection.

He wrote with virile terseness and appealing piquancy. He wrote as he drew, with a nervous and exact hand, impatient and persistent; for he was, above all, if not because of his dominant faculty, at least because of his special studies, a portrayer, a painter. He was still a student of the *École des Beaux-Arts*, and he had gained there a recognition which, accorded to a foreigner, took on a more than usual significance. In a competition in *L'Architecte*, for example, he won the first prize, a travel scholarship, awarded for the best design. Was he, however, a painter who expressed himself as a writer, or a writer gifted with the eyes, the manner and the habits of an artist?

These *reliquiae* exhibit his twofold and, as it were, unique faculty, side by side. His powers were given free reign during his trip through Italy. Admirably fitted for his hardy vagabondage, he found unerringly in the cities of note, the voice that revealed to him their ancient and everlasting charm. At Florence and particularly at Venice, he quaffed with rapture the philters of inexhaustible beauty tendered to his thirsty soul. Not only painting, but history, poetry, the life of the Renaissance, roused in him longings, affinities, revelations. Also the *Divina Commedia*, whose exceeding immensity of gentle and terrible things was familiar to him, brought to life for him the "stupendous epoch" and laid bare certain souls, the manifestation of which by some of the *Primitifs* startles our senses. He estab-

lished higher reasons for his predilections, and he searched for the strong ties by which his spirit attached itself preferably to powerful and solitary geniuses, to the tormented and the pathetic. He gave himself up with a kind of somber and prophetic ardor to the mighty inspiration of the Sixtine, and he came forth "with a soul fortified." Michelangelo, "too great for our world," henceforth overshadowed his dreams. He penetrated the meaning of stones with a devotion equal to Ruskin's. Wherever he experienced strong or tenuous sensations and rare emotions he discerned in them subtle intuitions and definite and delicate connotations.

His advance was always twofold. The further he progressed in the world of art, the deeper he penetrated into the inner world. For him they constituted but one world. What he sought everywhere was, in reality, himself, but in no Narcissine or vain affectation. The internal problem, according to his view, always came first in the critical estimate of life. Every great work, the evidence of hidden truths or the resplendent image of beauty, was thus for him but an invitation to seek further, in the upper or inner realm.

With a spirit easily disquieted and open to every influence, a true cosmopolitan, he effaced by his travels all boundary lines—they being already rather dim because of his early culture. The French sense of beauty and truth was his in very deed, as much by nature as by deliberate preference. Other ways, however, of seeing life and the world soon began to tempt him. He knew French perfectly, speaking it as well as he spoke his own language, and he had a profound knowledge of Italian and English. From English culture, he drew the strongest and most concentrated nourishment, or the most novel, particularly from the books of Walter Pater, Meredith, Shaw and Chesterton. Russian mystery also made him dream at times of the blisses of reincarnation and of holy and merciful wrath. His moral independence, in perpetual internal defiance of conventions and prejudices, ventured upon the greatest intellectual audacities. The bounds he set for himself were occasioned in no sense by timidity or incapacity, but

by the will to live only in conformity with the inner truth.

His restlessness, his mobility, the quickness of his comprehension, stimulated his intelligence without calming his yearning heart with any certitude. His was no passionate dilettanteism. The burden of moral and intellectual responsibility, the desire to set his soul in harmony with a profound sense of life; indeed, as he said with pride, "to be able to live without ceasing to be a man," demanded of him serious self-discipline. Emerson nourished him and formed him. He read and expounded Epictetus. He traveled toward the heights.

In the meantime, art was the only refuge for his impatient soul. He did not believe in easy, slovenly writing, wanting in an earnest and fixed resolve for perfection. He almost disdained "those little works that coddle the indolence of the reader and debase art."

This desire for perfection that entered into everything goaded him on, as might be said, in what related to the art of writing, for which he had peculiar endowments that would not be satisfied with anything short of perfection. In his elliptical and pregnant style is to be noted, above all, the zealous care for compression by which each word is made to serve with all its vital force, with all its derivative value, while at the same time its sonorousness consists in the cadence of the entire phrase. Nothing is explained that the observing and cultivated reader can supply for himself. Often one finds himself upon heights of thought, almost dizzy because of its unexpectedness, but how clear and steady shines the light! His style approaches at times that of André Suarès, without the apocalyptic turn or the timidity of the visionary, but with all his lucid vehemence and subdued flashes of lightning. It is a dangerous art and one that yields only to complete mastery.

However, is not this vibrant prose the product of a controlled and forceful temperament only? A natural style, both in writing and in drawing, was developed to the greatest degree by the assimilation and mingling of thoughts and sensations, as well as by the force of an intuitive and

lyric spirit. In it were found an arduous and vehement intensity of audacious synthesis; a demand for the essential and nothing but the essential; the evidence of character also; and inward discipline. It contained in the rhythm of an unyielding, strict and profound verbal harmony an acute sensibility, a responsive will and a rich gift of poetry.

Not satisfied, after all his excessive endeavors, there still remained to him this hope, this desire, for something beyond, which made all achievements seem insignificant and all rapture hardly more than fleeting.

He knew what he called somewhere "the disgust of the life that knows no longer how to choose an instrument with which to delude itself." He could no further dull this perpetual anxiety by successive dilettanteisms. He shut himself up with it, in the vast domain of sound, perhaps the only illimitable domain. Music was not for him, as he said half mockingly of the influence of melody upon the unstrained, "a pastime that left no trace, a soothing potion to calm rebellious feelings" or "a caress, a pretext for happy tears, a harmless languor that dies with the last note," but the language of that *inconformisme* in which he thought Beethoven most truly expressed.

Since he was never satisfied simply to feel music, it was necessary for him to *know* it. He mastered this mathematical marvel absolutely. He knew depths inaccessible to the untrained. "We are searching," he declared, "for a new dogma in art." He was touched, as so many others have been, by Wagnerian mysticism, and he made a pilgrimage to Beyreuth. He sought in the drama a surpassing allegory and he gave passionate vent in music to what he could not express in writing and painting. The thrill too of this music that he loved with such intensity found an echo in all he wrote or experienced.

He was living in this lofty atmosphere of the spirit, where pure intellectual and esthetic enjoyments were familiar and indispensable to him, when the war broke out. Then he went.

He continued to be, in the terrible ordeal, what he had always been. It was not the novelty of the spectacle that compelled him to observe what his astonished eyes and soul saw in this world apart. He continued in the trenches the most alluring and terrible of his "spiritual exercises" that he practised assiduously in his ordinary life—a private journal, a falling back upon himself, the pursuit of self and of a certain perfection through an analysis which nothing could delude or divert. He, so grave and so anxious, however, in the presence of life and art, became happy and light-hearted in the presence of permanent danger. Dazzling and pure joy was his, or, as he himself says: "repose, immense pride in living in daily peril."

He snatched fleeting moments to write down his observations, not only those he made from the altitude of his balloon, but also those he had never ceased to make from the heights of his soul: views upon life and death and upon men; penetrating remarks upon himself; connotations of the artist, fine, unexpected, complex; hints of intellectual experiences; a thousand aspects of sensitive feeling read into the landscape by a spirit aware of itself, burning with a living fire.

What could not have been given us by this young Peruvian, imbued with the culture of Europe and particularly with that of France? We owe to the vileness of the barbarians this one loss more. His was a pure, heroic, beautiful death. His life, also, would have been very beautiful.

In his short life, his unquiet spirit, like a flame, had, in common with all flames, no other aspiration than always to ascend. I think that nothing low could ever have tempted him. Relieved of petty cares, his eager emotion in ordinary life was but the expression of that inward striving felt by all who passionately yearn to fan into flame immediately the fire of their genius. It might have been called a presentiment; it was, however, but the impulse of his irresistibly vital ardor. When he appeared, he gave always the impression of coming from a distance, of resting but a while, ready to depart. This time his eagerness carried him forward over the last barrier.

THE OLDEST DAILY OF SOUTH AMERICA

BY

SAMUEL EICHELBAUM

The author gives a sketch of the history of *El Mercurio*, which has played so important a part in the political and intellectual life of Chile and of the neighboring countries of South America; he calls attention to the ideals that have characterized the policy of this newspaper since its establishment as the organ of the Chilean patriots, early in the last century; and he directs attention to the succession of distinguished men, several of whom were Argentines in exile, who have presided over its destinies.—THE EDITOR.

IF I should be asked as to what is the most representative institution of Chile, I should say, without hesitation: *El Mercurio*. I should be absolutely in the right, as every one is who thinks thus; for I have done nothing more than assimilate the conviction of all. Nothing, neither what is most typical, nor the most striking personality of the country, can represent Chile better than *El Mercurio*. No histories, either those already written or those that may be written in the future, can be a better reflection, a more complete synthesis, of the independent life of this nation than *El Mercurio*, in whose 28,500 numbers is stamped the evolutionary process of the country.

El Mercurio has had ninety-one years of existence. It appeared in Valparaíso on September 12, 1827, when the independence of Chile was not yet a habit deeply rooted in the nation, which had a presentment of it in the people of Arauco and which afterward achieved it. This daily must have contributed to strengthening the idea of independence in the heart of every Chilean. Those who have had anything to do with journalism can form an idea of the significance of a newspaper history of ninety-two years. It comprises a whole world of events relating to everything and resulting from everything. Those who are acquainted with the press will appreciate the meaning, above all, of so long a life as an independent organ, one that knows nothing of compromises; that is neither guilty of the complicity of silence nor of the easy complacencies that habituate to great falsehoods and

foster mystifications. During its long career, *El Mercurio*, like all the great dailies of the world, has encountered many difficulties and obstacles. The publication of it has been interrupted on several occasions, at times by fatal accidents, as during the earthquake, and at others by the capricious orders of the government, as occurred on November 4, 1851, when, because of an article signed with a pseudonym, in which the intendant of Valparaíso fancied he discovered an allusion disrespectful of authority, the publisher was cast into prison.

The memoirs of one of the early publishers of *El Mercurio* illustrate the character of this daily. An extraordinary spirit of impartiality and independence has always dominated the policy of *El Mercurio*. The different publishers and directors who have followed each other in succession through the many years of its existence have always founded their procedure upon a singularly imperative sense of honor and restraint.

When a journalistic enterprise is rich, it can, with relative ease, maintain effectively the independence that is indispensable for rendering a publication authoritative; but before achieving an economic life of its own this independence is extremely difficult to preserve. Following a right course usually brings one counter to private interests, and from the conflict that results, the power of money commonly issues triumphant. In order to emancipate itself from this influence, an intelligent understanding of duty and a lofty moral integrity are necessary.

Only such conduct as this explains the

success of *El Mercurio* and the present position which, as the first periodical organs of Chile, are occupied by the five daily editions issued by the company: two in Valparaíso, two in Santiago and one in Antofagasta.

For Argentines, *El Mercurio* is of unique value. In it our greatest minds left a perennial reflection of their intellectual power. Sarmiento from the columns of *El Mercurio* stirred the most fruitful literary reaction against the romanticism that was assimilated and at the same time dominant in the incipient literature of Chile. This is verified by the *Recuerdos literarios* of José Victorino Lastarria, one of the most substantial of the intellectual men of the same period, who caused the journalistic labors of Sarmiento to be appreciated in Chile.

On February 11, 1841, Sarmiento made his appearance as editor of *El Mercurio* by publishing a masterly article in which, with that vigor, that power of reflection, which we all admire in his work, he demanded for the heroes of Chacabuco more recognition, more sincere homage. The article, entitled, *February 12, 1817*, signed by "A lieutenant of artillery at Chacabuco," began thus:

A day comes every year, preceded and followed by other days; if in aught it is distinguished from those that go before and come afterward; if the inhabitant of Chile fixes upon it for an instant his attention, it is only because of the cold formulas by which public rejoicing is *represented*, just as the old religions substitute the pomp of emblematic ceremonials for the great memories that no longer move the hearts of believers; some salvos from the forts; some flags unfurled on the tops of the buildings: behold, all that reminds of a day that ought to be so dear to the heart of every Chilean. The frigid countenances of the citizens are also in keeping with the *mandatory* joy, like that of the maiden whom a sordid family calculation unites to the husband that her heart has not chosen; like the bridal trinkets upon her body and concentrated dislike in her heart: her head crowned with garlands and her face painted with sorrow. Hardly twenty-four years have passed since that memorable day shone at Chacabuco upon a struggle of life and death for American independence, and now the illustrious names that immortalized that field are not even mentioned. Ah! the stones have preserved

the stains of the patriot blood that spattered them, and the condor of the Andes has not ceased to circle about that vast scene of butchery in which the master and the slave fought with fury!

Sarmiento concluded with these ringing words:

Some have perished upon the scaffold; exile or estrangement from the patria has removed others; crime has stained the beautiful pages of the history of some. Happy, happy in the extreme are some, if, enjoying the esteem of their fellow-citizens, they occupy posts of honor or handle with skill the rudder of state. Happy in the extreme are those who in the bosom of their families, lead a life of obscurity, but without alarm; happy, a thousand times happy, those who can turn their gaze upon the past without desiring to see one dishonorable day blotted out from the history of their life.

While the press maintains a criminal silence regarding our historic deeds and during the growth of this generation, which does not understand the meaning for Chile of these salvos and these banners that grace the twelfth of February, we, every time the sun of this august day passes over our heads, shall salute it with religious veneration; and, deploring the fate that has fallen to so many of our compatriots, whatever be the country or political party to which they belong, we shall raise our prayers to heaven that in the days of their old age they may find a bread that shall not be watered with tears for their food, the shelter of the roof of their fathers and the blessings and respect of their countrymen.

In the editorship of *El Mercurio*, Alberdi succeeded Sarmiento, and Alberdi was in turn succeeded by Mitre, and he was succeeded by other no less illustrious Argentines. For the whole of a long period, the newspaper was edited by Argentines who afterward rose to the highest position in the country. It is a great pity that the valuable products of their minds can not be collected. Each of those whom we have mentioned wrote under different pseudonyms, and this renders the collection of their articles impossible. This fact, however, does not diminish the value of their writings, nor does it rob *El Mercurio* of the honor of having served as the vehicle of such exceptional intellects.

POPULAR EDUCATION

BY

RAFAEL MONTORO

Cuba is struggling intelligently with the problems of popular education, and she has made long strides in this respect during the twenty years of her independent life. She has had the advantage of coming into existence as a national entity after many other countries had made their experiments in education, and she has shown wisdom in striving to find and incorporate the best ideas, whatever their source. The author emphasizes the supreme importance of popular education in a republic, and he gives interesting statistics as to the development of schools in his country during the past two decades.—THE EDITOR.

THE question of education is one of the most difficult and important of problems among all peoples, but especially among those that are under the dominion of democratic institutions. With prevision, attention was called to this by the illustrious English orator and statesman, Robert Lowe (Lord Sherbrooke), in one of his memorable discourses—perhaps somewhat exaggerated—against extending the right of suffrage to the masses before they were prepared to exercise it, when he said:

We must educate our masters.¹

It is indeed a notorious error—that of all those who imagine the problem can be resolved by the mere teaching of first letters to the greatest possible number of children of school age. A minimum, such as this, can not solve the problem. The illiterate person, as he is disdainfully called even by the most ignorant of the multitude, which is, without doubt, an indication of progress, is relegated to a position of inferiority in respect of the imperative demands of modern life and of the aptitudes required for the exercise of citizenship, mainly by the exercise of the right of suffrage. He may be, and he often is, among the rural population, a man sound of body and mind, endowed with moral and religious gifts, backed by family and social tradition, of good sense, probity and seasoned character, who knows how to carry himself, and in whom we may confide, both in war and in peace. Everybody who has had any experience of life, in travels or in the vicissitudes of politics or business, can vouch for the correctness of this assertion.

On the other hand, there abound in the great cities, and unfortunately they begin to infect the rural population everywhere, people of unquiet and vain disposition who have learned to read and write and figure, with a slight varnish of other elementary studies, and who only make use of such knowledge—the value of which depends upon the use they make of it—for unwholesome and subversive reading, for fruitless and pernicious agitation productive of demagogic delirium and anti-social passions. Great also is the number of those who through long years do not make any use of these rudiments of culture, and who finish up forgetting or losing them, for want of some efficient social direction to extend to them the intellectual and moral activity of the epoch, even in modest proportions.

“Education” is a most ample and luminous term. It comprehends doubtless the indispensable elementary instruction, but it tends, above all, to the formation of character and moral consciousness, to the arousing of the most noble aptitudes of our being, and to their highest development. To educate, according to the maxim of our don José de la Luz Caballero, none the less interesting because often repeated, is not to bestow a career for life, but to temper the soul for life. Keeping always in mind this elevated conception is the means by which the work of the educator may be brought as close as possible to the ideal synthesized by Plato in his noble formula:

Develop in the body and the soul all the beauty and perfection of which they are capable.

It has been remarked by a distinguished

¹English in the original.—THE EDITOR.

contemporary English writer that all education is comprehended in this idea, because it involves physical, moral and mental education, but that it must be taken in harmony with conditions of time and place, the degree of general culture and the ideas prevailing at each moment of history.

Doctor A. M. Aguayo, with his exceptionally profound understanding of these subjects, traced out, in a former number of the *Revista de Instrucción Pública*, a complete scheme of the different factors that ought to enter into this great enterprise, in his article, *Labors for the Protection and Education of the Child*, which contains an exposition of what ought to be and how ought to be achieved the active and effective coöperation of the school, the family and the community. This is an essential factor and one of cardinal importance, whose influence is patently to be observed in the most advanced countries and in those most identified with modern ideas, such as England, the United States, France and Germany, as also in Italy, Spain and Belgium, with or without the aid of the state, province or municipality, and even on occasions in spite of the hostility of the government, as in France, for example, in the case of religion. In the modest work, *Principles of Moral and Civic Instruction*, which, jointly with the learned Doctor Carlos de la Torre, I gave to the public in 1902, I laid stress upon the importance which, in my judgment, ought to be given to the teaching and explanation of one's duties toward God, as the foundation of all truly effective moral education for childhood. This is a subject that was discussed with an eloquence and depth never exceeded, in the French senate and in the press, in the face of certain exaggerations, by a republican as proved and eminent as Jules Simon, philosopher, orator and illustrious statesman, whose books and discourses contributed as much as those of any other to the education of a whole generation in the purest principles of modern democracy.²

In one form or another, as may be permitted by the legislation of each country, it is highly important to devote the most zealous attention to this great spiritual want, which is met by the foundations, schools and ecclesiastical colleges, as far as it is possible for them, and in what is reserved to them only.

Civic education also demands a particular and decided devotion; not understood of course, in the sectarian or partisan sense, but in the lofty sense of inculcating in the child from very early a disinterested patriotism and a knowledge of the fundamental duties of the man and citizen toward the society in which he lives. Perhaps this is the fundamental reason for the intervention of the state in a subject which, according to certain teachings, is reserved for the initiative of the individual or the corporations.

In his great speech on popular education, Macaulay so declared it:

I believe, sir, that it is the right and the duty of the state to provide means of education for the common people. This proposition seems to me to be implied in every definition that has ever yet been given of the functions of a government. About the extent of those functions there has been much difference of opinion among ingenious men. There are some who hold that it is the business of a government to meddle with every part of the system of human life, to regulate trade by bounties and prohibitions, to regulate expenditure by sumptuary laws, to regulate literature by a censorship, to regulate religion by an inquisition. Others go to the opposite extreme, and assign to government a very narrow sphere of action. But the very narrowest sphere that ever was assigned to governments by any school of political philosophy is quite wide enough for my purpose. On one point all the disputants are agreed. They unanimously acknowledge that it is the duty of every government to take order for giving security to the persons and property of the members of the community.

This being admitted, can it be denied that the education of the common people is a most effectual means of securing our persons and our property? Let Adam Smith answer that question for me. His authority, always high, is, on this subject, entitled to peculiar respect because he extremely disliked busy, prying, interfering governments.

He cited the opinion of the illustrious

²Jules Simon: *Dieu, Patrie et Liberté*. There is a Spanish version of this work, by J. Orelli, published about the middle of 1883.

founder of political economy to the end that the state may disregard the education of the rich, the powerful, but not the giving of popular education to the needy, the poor. Just as the public authorities ought to see to it, according to him, that a leper be prevented from being at large among the people, so ought they to hinder the progress of those moral infections which are inseparable from ignorance. "If the multitude be left without instruction, it will become the easy plaything of demagogues." Let it be observed that the point of view of Adam Smith, regarding the obligation of the state or the local board to give attention to elementary rather than higher education, is that which prevails, for example, in the United States, where primary instruction is public, but where secondary, and above all, higher education, are of a private character, the product of individual initiative or that of strong corporations, maintained and fostered by the magnificent gifts of wealthy persons or powerful groups.

Macaulay then adduced great popular upheavals, and he attributed them in large measure to the easy sway of demagogues over the ignorant multitudes—this is now being seen particularly in Russia—and he added:

Could such things have taken place in a country where the mind of the laborer were prepared by education; in which he should have been taught to find pleasure in the exercise of intelligence, taught to reverence his Maker, to respect legitimate authority, and at the same time to seek the suppression of genuine injustice by pacific and constitutional means?

The luminous observations with which the great English historian and orator proceeds to explain his argument are singularly applicable to these times; but they would cause me to extend the present article too much.

Our progress, in respect of the multiplication of public schools since 1900, has been constant and positive. It is an admirable thing to have them: what is now lacking is to complete and improve them, and this is relatively easier. According to official data that may be consulted, the advances have been considerable and satisfactory with reference to the

number of schools and matriculated pupils. There were 904 teachers in 1895, and at the end of the first intervention the number had risen to 3,782; to-day they are 5,400. The pupils matriculated in the first of these years were 36,306, and in the second, 245,567; in December, 1917, there were 301,269.

As may be read in the presidential message of the first month of the current year:

The firm purpose of the present administration has been to extend primary instruction by carrying it to the remotest parts of the country. Therefore the effort undertaken in 1913 has gone on being accomplished to the point of reaching at this moment the considerable figure of 1600 new centers of culture established in the nation during the last five years. The construction of new schoolhouses, beginning with November 5, 1907, has reached the following figures: 243 buildings for common instruction; two for instruction in night schools; nine for the services of traveling teachers; five kindergarten schools; four schools for cutting and sewing; which make a total of 263 new teachers, distributed by districts.

Really the effort could not be more considerable, in so short a time.

It would be very lamentable that, for one or another cause, the result should not correspond entirely to this mighty effort, which must, without doubt, be met with great vigor and method in order that in all the territory of the republic its effects may be equally felt. It ought not to be overlooked, however, that the exigencies of partisan politics, and above all, of local politics, are wont to disturb more or less profoundly the difficult school task, in which are always reflected the advantages and disadvantages of the environment in which it is achieved.

I believe that, in the ardent love for the patria which animates our citizens generally, in the noble emulation to be observed in the greater part of the teaching profession and in the greater attention devoted to social and pedagogical questions, we may certainly have confidence that this grave question of popular education may acquire for all the importance it has and has always had for those who have taken exact account of the signs of the times and of the true needs of the body social.

THE BEGINNINGS OF ARGENTINE PAINTING

BY

MARCO SIBELIUS

South America's geographical extent, its huge mountain ranges and mighty rivers, the wealth and variety of its soil, the antiquity and romance of its primitive races, the infelicities of the Spanish régime, in the countries governed by Spain, the characteristics of the great empire and republic settled by Portugal, and the checkered careers of some of the nations after their achievement, are all fairly well known to our students and even to our cultivated public in general. A few of our students are acquainted with the institutions, the social and political tendencies and literature, but almost none are informed as to the extent of the appreciation of art, either as expressed in music or in painting and sculpture. The author of this article confers a distinct favor upon the rest of America by giving an insight into the beginnings of art in one of the leading South American countries.—THE EDITOR.

THE beginnings of Argentine art, in its more immediate sources of the viceroyalty and colony, have not yet been coordinated by the numerous scholars who among us devote themselves to this kind of investigation, since, owing to the dominion that Spanish ideas exercised over the aboriginal environment and to the persistent annihilation of everything that signified, not indeed a sign, but a purpose of spiritual liberation, that period which embraces the richest two centuries of our colonial history seems to us to-day a hybrid cycle, without character of its own or any distinguishing style.

Much has been attempted latterly, and the work of Ambrosetti,¹ to mention only the most important, remains here to bear witness to it; but the archæological reconstructions of this part of the viceroyalty, above all, instead of being true elements of judgment, present indefinite expressions of a political régime in which the Spanish decadence of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries accentuates, in prolonging itself, its unmistakable impress.

Thus is explained the fact that the revolutionary crisis of 1810 sought to blot out, by the impulse of its own course, all traces of our past during the colonial period, and that, when once nationality was realized, a longing for renovation—one of the most legitimate of desires, since it was, as it were, the living rite of the lib-

erties achieved—should break with the traditional sense in the realm of ideas and in the world of customs.

Hardly were even the ecclesiastical relics saved—for the churches also suffered their spasm of renovation—and the few authentic pieces that a counter reaction, the colonial taste, had just brought into fashion, with more of worldly preference than of true analytical judgment since these same pieces, distributed to-day among different private collections, often came from Perú and Bolivia, on which account we are not able always to find in them an expression of Argentine colonial art properly so-called.

What exists in the museums and academies has not yet been definitely catalogued, and while the work of cataloguing is proceeding our points of reference must be limited to vague indications and problematic conjectures. We ought therefore to omit from consideration in this article the beginnings of Argentine art in its natural sources of the viceroyalty and the colony, in order to study them as an expression of nationality already constituted, toward the beginning of the nineteenth century, although, in reality, apart from an isolated example here and there, we might pass over the first decade that succeeded the movement of independence in 1810. In the annals of that period, devoted naturally to the military and political episodes of the revolution, we only find the name of a professor dedicated to the public teaching of the fine arts:

¹See INTER-AMERICA for December, 1917, page 94.—THE EDITOR.

an Italian painter, Angelo Campone, who has bequeathed to us, among other paintings of merit, a magnificent portrait of the Reverend Father Zamboráin, which is to be found in one of the cloisters of Santo Domingo.

The first official effort that eventuated in a plan for esthetic culture dates from the year 1815, and it concerns the creation of an academy of design opened on August 10 of this same year, in the convent of the Recolectión (to-day Recoleta), by Father Castañeda, an intelligent priest, who on more than one occasion devoted his greatest endeavors to labors for general culture. In his interesting study on the beginnings of public instruction, Juan María Gutiérrez² tells us that this school, always favored with a fair attendance of students, was conducted under the direction of a French engraver, Joseph Rousseau, whose method of teaching was restricted to copying in black and white from certain classic heads badly lithographed. In beginning the annual courses, there was organized in the halls of the same school, a public exhibition of drawings, which assumed the dimensions of a great social event.

The school of Recoleta still existed when, in May, 1823, there was founded in Buenos Aires, under the auspices of the governor, General Martín Rodríguez, a second academy of design, intended to serve as a complementary course, in the Colegio de la Unión (to-day the National university). A wealthy citizen of Buenos Aires, don Ruperto Albarelos, generously donated to the new academy of fine arts a complete collection of great oil paintings belonging to the Spanish school, and representing the life of the patriarch Joseph. These pictures, to which was attributed at that time an exceptional merit, were lost when the college was removed to the location it occupied afterward for a number of years, in the novitiate of San Francisco.

The first master of drawing who figured in the new academy, was an Argentine

engraver named Ibáñez de Alba, of whom is preserved in the historical museum an engraving representing General San Martín at Mendoza, and dedicated by its maker to the *cabildo*³ of Buenos Aires, in the year 1818. The master was seconded in his tasks of teaching by another mediocre engraver, José Guth, of Swedish origin, who, like Rousseau and Ibáñez de Alba, merely practised drawing casually without any profound vocation for that art. The few plates of the three teachers that have come down to our days present them to us as excellent engravers, skillful in copying foreign productions on stone, but incapable of executing a design of their own based on the most rudimentary laws of perspective.

The noble initiative of Father Castañeda and the exemplary plans of Governor Rodríguez were to a certain extent barren, as neither of the two schools succeeded in forming even passable artists: the Argentines who later were to win renown as painters and portraitists owed their instruction to a distinguished nucleus of foreign artists who took up their residence in Buenos Aires under the progressive government of Rivadavia. We reach now the true beginning of Argentine painting.

Of this initial group of artists who remained here for a period of about forty years (1825-1865), we ought to mention, in the first place, the names of J. P. Goulu, Charles Pellegrini, R. Fiorini, Raymond Monvoisin, Ignazio Manzoni, Jean Leon Pallière, José Agujari. To them, as to Pedro Prilidiano Pueyrredón and Graciano Mendilaharsu, the latter two, Argentines, is due the formation of an environment propitious to the future destinies of the national art, as other names that we might interpolate in the list of our primitive artists—Astral, Charton, Sheridan, Rawson, Agrelo and Lastra—may serve only as simple data for reference, by the side of the positive and meritorious work of those artists who were able to embody the political idealism of Rivadavia under the romantic formula with which the celebrated Sociedad Porteña del Buen Gusto

²A distinguished Argentine juriconsult and man of letters (1809-1879): among his considerable works may be mentioned *Estudios biográficos y críticos sobre sudamericanos anteriores al siglo XIX*.—THE EDITOR.

³In this sense, the municipal corporation, one of its meetings or the place where it is held; it also has the ecclesiastical meaning of congregation, community or chapter.—THE EDITOR.

expressed its longings: "that Buenos Aires may be called one day the Athens of the Plata."

The names of J. P. Goulu, Pellegrini and Fiorini appear in Buenos Aires at the beginning of the third decade of the nineteenth century, and they relate themselves definitely with our social medium by contributing with an incessant and fruitful labor to the development of Argentine artistic culture under the guise of that neo-classicism, the spirit of the age, which, upon the death of Klopstock, the whole of Europe embraced in order to mitigate, perhaps, by virtue of pure art, the historical materialism that sprang from the French revolution.

The work of these two artists, primitive in respect of our medium, as also that of Verazzi, a famous Italian painter who established himself in Buenos Aires about the year 1833, is sufficiently well known to our public; we therefore limit ourselves in the present article to a circumstantial account, while pointing out to our readers as a source of more ample and minute information, Eduardo Schiaffino's résumé of the beginnings of Argentine art.⁴ It only remains to add then that Goulu and Fiorini devoted themselves exclusively to portraiture, while Pellegrini, besides this branch of art, which he exercised with singular skill, has left us also numerous drawings and scenes of customs in water-color, among which we recall the *Procesión en Santo Domingo*, *Interior de la catedral*, *Los corrales de Miserere* and *Cielito*, extant in the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes.

"It would have been desirable," says Schiaffino, in the work cited, "for the owners of these portraits and drawings, moved by a sentiment of solidarity as rare among us as it is frequent in Europe and North America, to have placed our museum in the position to create a Pellegrini salon that would furnish worthy quarters for so much interesting art, in order to perpetuate thus a phase of Argentine life obliterated by time."

As to Raymond Monvoisin, he reached

⁴*Anales de la Biblioteca Nacional*, tomo II.

Buenos Aires in 1842. This French artist, a disciple of Lacour and of Guérin, obtained in 1820 the second prize at Rome for his composition *Achilles and the Olympian Games*. A fellow student of Delacroix, Gericault and Sheffer; a contemporary of Ingres and Delaroche, Monvoisin was a cultivator of mural painting, fond of dramatic themes, which he was accustomed to develop in great dimensions. In Buenos Aires, he had occasion to produce certain works of a local character, such as *La porteña en la iglesia*, *Soldado de Rosas* and *El gaucho*, as also four or five portraits that possess the peculiarity of having been painted upon sole leather, and that are now here with us after having belonged to the collection of Picollet Vermillón. Among the pictures to which we have alluded, ranks as the most important, the portrait of don Juan Manuel de Rosas, with which these pages are illustrated.⁵ This personage is represented in the dress of a peasant, a black poncho with red and yellow fringe thrown over his right shoulder in such a manner as to leave the arm free and showing the scarlet lining; the left hand, resting upon the girdle, also leaves exposed the red lining of the poncho. The white shirt is open at the neck, while the silk handkerchief with a red border is knotted negligently across the breast. "Rosas, almost in profile," says Schiaffino, "is looking into the distance with the cold and steely gaze of his blue eyes; the robust and fleshy mask, the sharp and prominent nose, lips fine and sunken, which appear to close hermetically in disagreement with the entire plasticity of the physiognomy, and the thick hair, of a fiery, reddish chestnut that contrasts with the fair complexion barely tanned by exposure to the weather, constitute the veritable effigy of a Roman emperor, enigmatic and cruel." The picture is of life size, and the canvas, which is to be found in the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, is a meter in height and eighty centimeters in breadth.

Because of the character of his work

⁵The original of this article was admirably illustrated with cuts made from photographs of existing paintings.—THE EDITOR.

and of a personality that stands out among other compatriots initiated also in the mysteries of art, Pedro Prilidiano Pueyrredón may be considered as the true precursor and most typical of the early Argentine painters.

A son of General Pueyrredón,⁶ the artist was born in Buenos Aires in the year 1823, and after receiving some elementary instruction from Goulu and Fiorini, he went to perfect his studies in Europe, moved by the impulse of an irresistible vocation.

This is, in reality, all that we know regarding the life of the artist, as the brief biographical notes which it has been possible for us to consult suffer from a palpable contradiction, thus rendering difficult the task of coördinating the more or less probable data. The references that Schiaffino offers in his so often mentioned study are precarious and superficial. Much more positive, as a basis of judgment, is the article published by Atilio Chiappori in the first number of his review *Pallas* (May 15, 1912). The substantial part of this article runs thus:

The value of Prilidiano Pueyrredón depends on two fundamental things: his having been the first Argentine called to supremacy in such a vocation, in an epoch of political agitation and from the most obscure artistic ignorance; and his having succeeded in painting landscapes and scenes in which, apart from the decorative sense, he has expressed with the awkwardness of his primitive technique the character of our ancient campaigns, our old patios and our early salons, with an admirable evocation. Let it not be believed that all is limited to the correctness of the dress to the aspect or the furniture of the period. With his foreshortened figures and his errors of perspective; with his arbitrary colors and his ingenuous details of composition; and with all that brings a smile to the virtuosos of the present, Pueyrredón was able to impregnate his landscapes with a sincere creole flavor—they are genuine landscapes of the region—and he has animated his country scenes with the profound peace, the romantic gallantry and the laborious simplicity of the good times now for ever past.

Pueyrredón was also a portraitist of

very decided merit, as may be appreciated by reference to the picture of *Manuelita Rosas*, which illustrates this sketch.

Ignazio Manzoni came to Buenos Aires about the year 1851, after a solid preparation acquired in Italy, the country of his origin, in the field of decorative painting. He was of a passionate temperament, a sincere artist, with an agile technique and rich coloring, which in another environment and with better horizons than ours would have succeeded in obtaining for him the consideration of his epoch.

He remained here for the period of thirty years (1851-1881), devoting himself to a labor that was fantastic, not to say veriginous, which included almost all types and suggested all schools. This facility of production, this fever of work, which never exhausted his ideals of an artist, constitutes, perhaps, the essential trait and the true personality of Manzoni. His work naturally suffered from diversity and continuous effort, but in the collection as a whole, formed in our museum by some of his most famous pictures, there are canvases that testify to his profound artistic sense and his prodigious facility of execution. In this rank belongs the painting reproduced here, *Un bebedor*, which, if it does not give an exact idea of his qualities as an eminent colorist, it emphasizes, at least, the two characteristic manners of the painter.

Schiaffino says:

Being in Paris, I paused one day before the window of a picture dealer, my curiosity aroused by a superb *Temptation of Saint Anthony*, treated in the Flemish manner with unrestrained apocalyptic fullness: it was a genuine Manzoni, with all his excellence and defects, swarming with mysteries, fairies and dragons. A little afterward I saw it again, despoiled of the signature and attributed to Goya: the painting was able to bear serenely that glorious baptism!

Although born in Rio de Janeiro, of French parents, Jean Leon Pallière figures in the gallery of contemporary French portraits arranged by Picot, in 1845.

Reaching Buenos Aires in 1858, when he was barely thirty-five years old, Pallière took up his abode among us until the be-

⁶Juan Martín de Pueyrredón, an Argentine patriot and general (1777-1850), born in Buenos Aires: he played a prominent part in the defense of the Spanish régime from the English, in 1806, and in the later struggle for independence.—THE EDITOR.

ginning of 1870, devoting himself during this long period of his existence to teaching painting and to the lithography of customs. If, indeed, the personality of the artist was not to become marked until his return to the Old World, we know that during his stay in Buenos Aires he painted numerous *genre* pictures, afterward reproduced lithographically in an album of twenty plates published by Pelvilián (1875), with the title: *Escenas y costumbres argentinas*. The two paintings of the artist that figure in this article are in the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, and they belong to the collection of Pelvilián. From what may be seen, Pallière was a fine painter, with a vague manner, who possessed instinct for composition and the true sense of coloring. He was, besides, an assiduous exhibitor at the Salon de Paris, since, from 1870, when he exhibited *The Cradle* and *The Woman Treading Corn*, until 1882, he appeared in the catalogues with the following pictures: *The Spinner* (Rothschild collection), *Lausquenete*, *The Son of Titian*, *Venus and the Daughters of Nereus*, *On the Dune*, *The Interior of a Ranch on the Pampa*, *The Young Mother*, *A Reading*, *The Drovers*, *A Girl Embroidering*, *The Bath*, *The Wife of Apengo*, *Constantinople*, *A Visit to His Reverence*, *Old Castile*, *The Fountain*, *The Mendicant Brother*, *Religious Songs*, *Pieta*, *Old Recollections*, *Starting to the Market*, *The Canal of Zudecca*, etc.

Many are, as has been seen, the foreign artists who have endured among us the severe trial of a lack of comprehension or of indifference, but no one, to such an extent as Agujari, has impressed upon the character of his period such definite traits or prepared with greater care the evolution of our esthetic culture. Preceded by a certain renown, he reached Buenos Aires about 1871, and he devoted himself immediately to teaching, with an unexampled devotion and with a professional honesty so irreproachable that the doors of the best society of Buenos Aires were opened to him. It was thus that the influence of the useful artist made itself felt principally among the well-to-do classes, where a

taste for works of art and a sense of decoration began to take deep root.

Preceded by a certain renown, we have said; and thus it was, in truth, because in the celebrated Goulphi collection appeared numerous Venetian landscapes done in water-color, which José Agujari frequently exhibited at the Royal Academy in London.

In Buenos Aires, he painted a great number of portraits in water-color, scattered to-day among different private collections, and some *genre* pictures, hanging now in the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes.

One of his critics has said:

Agujari possessed profoundly the secrets of the Italian water-color, and his power, within this tendency, was, in reality, surprising. On the other hand, he suffered from dryness in drawing, he lacked imagination and naturalness in composition, he was ignorant of the value of synthesis and he permitted himself to be seduced by detail, in the pursuit of which he went to the point of preciousness and miniature. His defects were therefore those of his own school.

Graciano Mendilaharsu closes the group of our precursors, not, indeed, as a primitive, like Pueyrredón, but as an artist of superior technique and vast culture, acquired in Europe during fourteen years of incessant labor near the great masters, who were his friends, and choice spirits, who were able to appreciate in him what his compatriots must needs deny him, in the obfuscation of a medium ill prepared to comprehend him.

A disciple of Bonnat and Gervez, Graciano Mendilaharsu did not limit himself to following the steps of his masters, because an original temperament and a lofty independence constituted, along with an insatiable thirst for emotions, the foundation, the true essence of his artistic personality. It is true that his work recalls the taste and essential tendencies of that unmixed realism which preceded in France the advent of the impressionistic school, but his vigorous and sure technique demonstrate to us that if the artist followed the esthetic principles of a definite group, his choice was the work of profound and conscious affinities in the full maturity of

his talent. The first exhibition of his paintings took place on September 26, 1894, a few days after the occurrence of his tragic death in the Hospicio de las Mercedes. Of the ninety-seven canvases that figured in it, the Museo Nacional possesses six: *La vuelta al hogar*, *Retrato del poeta Gervasio Méndez*, *Cabeza de San Juan Bautista*, *Las bananas* and two studies in pastel. We reproduce here the first two, which are certainly among the best paintings of the unfortunate artist.

La vuelta al hogar or *Le retour au village*, for it is known in both ways, would have more than merit enough to assure the reputation of the artist, if Vollón and Krøyer (the Danish master and the painter of his portrait) had not already made it in advance of our critics, as they considered Mendilaharzu among the best of the young painters of his epoch: an estimate that was highly flattering to our unfortunate compatriot, because his was a period of brilliancy and hope for French art.

It is a picture that makes a good impression for everything that is sought ordinarily in a fine painting, when the spectator wishes to go no further than the artist: it has color, setting and emotion; and in what his disciples could see or thought they saw in the total realism of Courbet, these three values, wisely combined, are sufficient to determine, when taken together, the merit of a canvas.

Let it be remembered that if in art, as we understand it to-day—we make no question of schools—everything depends upon external brilliance of technique, inasmuch as it is a personal art, of indefinite sensations, vaguely pessimistic, and indifferent to the general forms of comprehension, for realism, on the other hand, badly directed always by those who are "realists" knowingly, the theatricalness of the subject ought to be above the technique. This theatricalness, designed to impress all temperaments, ought to be clear, visible and ostensible, in order that all may feel it in the prolongation of their own recollections of emotions.

Like so many painters of the period, Mendilaharzu was a "realist," conscious and unyielding: having deliberately em-

braced the principles of the school of realism, he lent to it all his faith as an artist, a faith of life and death, which did not give ground before the most unjust attacks or hesitate before the triumphant coming of the new esthetic ideas.

We observe, however, that we are prolonging this sketch beyond what is proper, but there will not be presented to us, we believe, another better opportunity for rendering to the lamented Mendilaharzu the testimony of sympathy which Argentine criticism has denied him up to the present. Here, at least, the artist is in his medium and in his environment, as a precursor, as a master of the present generation; here we can be indulgent toward his errors as a painter, by reason of the much that he did as an artist and as a man, under the impulse of a noble passion which was the dynamic valor of his existence—a passion for truth.

Schiaffino, in the work already mentioned, says:

The portrait of the poet Gervasio Méndez is an intense intellectual evocation, animated and sensitive, in a modernistic note of the most personal kind.

Besides these canvases, Mendilaharzu has left others of no less merit, such as his interesting *Cabeza del bautista* (Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes), which responds to the classic taste and is treated with singular mastery: within the cloaked effectism, dramatic by an accumulation of shadows, is visible the "realist's" preference for the livid flesh, for the truth of death.

Laveuse de vaisselle is a little painting of fine composition and expert technique, and one that gives us as a whole a new note of an interior, worthy of the best French painters who illustrated this type toward the second half of the nineteenth century.

Mendilaharzu has left also, in addition to an historical painting, *La muerta de Pizarro*, and to his celebrated *Retrato de Adolfo Alsina*, which hang in the legislature of Buenos Aires, five beautiful still-life scenes, which, ill understood by the public during the exposition of 1894, were afterward duly appreciated by the critics for what they signify as notes of color, harmonized with great dexterity.

THE CHRIST IN AGONY

BY

RICARDO PALMA

Don Ricardo Palma's *Tradiciones peruanas* are known wherever Spanish is spoken. Their distinguished author, now well over eighty years of age, seldom makes contribution at present to current literature. In order, therefore, that he may be brought again before our readers, it has been necessary to appeal to the past by taking a sketch from the *Tradiciones*. The one chosen is typical: the story is rooted in the local soil. In it is found regional Ecuador, history, national traits, genius, whim, tragedy and art: all of which is of the essence and style of don Ricardo.—THE EDITOR.

I

SAN FRANCISCO DE QUITO, founded in August, 1534, upon the ruins of the ancient capital of the *Scyris*, has to-day a population of seventy thousand souls, and it is situated on the slope of Pichincha or the mountain that boils.

Pichincha exposes to the inquisitive glances of the traveler two large craters, which are without doubt the result of several eruptions. It presents three notable peaks or vents, known by the names of *Rucu-Pichincha*, or Old Pichincha, *Guagua-Pichincha*, or Baby Pichincha, and *Cundor-Guachana*, or Nest of the Condors. Next to *Sangay*, the most active volcano of the world, and one that is found in the same land of the *Scyris*, in the neighborhood of Riobamba, there is no doubt that *Rucu-Pichincha* is the most terrible volcano in America. History has transmitted to us the account of the eruptions of 1534, 1539, 1577, 1588, 1660 and 1662 only. Almost two centuries had passed without its torrents of lava and its frightful tremblings spreading mourning and desolation, and there were not lacking geologists who believed that it was then an extinct volcano; but the twenty-second of March, 1859, came to discredit the priests of science. Picturesque Quito was then almost destroyed. Nevertheless, as the main crater of Pichincha opens toward the west, its lava was discharged in the direction of the deserts of Esmeraldas, a saving circumstance for the city, which was a victim of only the quakings of the giant that serves it as a watchman. It would be, nevertheless, desirable for the better repose

of its inhabitants to ascertain how far is well founded the opinion of Baron von Humboldt, which affirms that the space of 6,300 square miles around Quito embraces the inflammable materials of a single volcano.

For the children of this American republic, Pichincha symbolizes one of the most beautiful pages of the great epoch of the Revolution. Upon the slopes of the volcano took place on the twenty-fourth of May, 1822, the sanguinary battle that assured to Colombia her independence.

Blessings on thee, land of the brave, and may the genius of the future reserve for thee happier hours than those which form thy present. Upon the shores of the picturesque Guayas thou didst offer me a hospitable refuge in the hours of proscription and misfortune. It is fitting that the gratitude of the wanderer should not forget ever the fountain that quenched his thirst, the palms that flattered him with their freshness and shade, and the sweet oasis where he beheld unfold an horizon to his hope.

Therefore I again take up my chronicler's pen in order to rescue from the dust of oblivion one of thy most beautiful traditions, the memory of one of thy most illustrious men, the story of him who with the inspired revelations of his brush acquired the laurels of genius, as Olmedo, with his Homeric song, won the poet's immortal crown.

II

I have said it. I am going to tell you about a painter: about Miguel de Santiago.

The art of painting, which in colonial times was illustrated by Antonio Salas,

Gorívar, Morales and Rodríguez, is portrayed in the magnificent pictures of our protagonist, who is to be considered as the true master of the school of Quito. As the creations of Rembrandt and of the Flemish school are distinguished by the speciality of shadows, by a certain mysterious *claro-oscuro* and by the felicitous disposition of the groups, so the school of Quito is notable for its vividness of coloring and for its naturalness. Do not seek in it the refinement of art, do not expect to discover great correctness in the lines of its madonnas; but if you love the poetry of the blue sky of our valleys, the vague melancholy of the *yaraví* that our Indians sing accompanied by the sentimental harmonies of the *quena*, contemplate in our days the works of Rafael Salas, Cadenas or Carrillo.

The church of La Merced in Lima to-day proudly boasts a picture by Anselmo Yáñez. The details of the style of Quito are not found in it in all their fullness; but the whole well discloses that the artist was much influenced by national sentiment. The *Prayer in the Garden* would be worthy to stand by the side of a painting by Veronese.

The people of Quito have a feeling for art. One fact will be sufficient to prove it. The convent of San Agustín adorns its cloisters with fourteen pictures by Miguel de Santiago, among which stands out one of great dimensions, entitled *The Genealogy of the Holy Bishop of Hipona*. One morning, in 1857, a piece of the painting which contained a beautiful group was stolen. The city arose in alarm, and the whole people turned itself into a detective force. The picture was restored. The thief turned out to be a foreign trader in paintings.

Now, however, as I have spoken, in passing, of the fourteen pictures of Santiago that are preserved in San Agustín, paintings that are distinguished by correctness of coloring and majesty of conception, especially the one of the *Baptism*, we shall explain to the reader the cause that produced them, and which, like the larger part of the biographical data we present regarding this great artist, we have acquired from a notable article

written by the Ecuadorian poet, don Juan León Mera.

A Spanish *oidor*¹ charged Santiago with painting his portrait. When it was finished, the artist went to visit a village called Guápulo, leaving the portrait in the sun to dry, and commending it to the care of his wife. The unhappy creature did not succeed in preventing the portrait from becoming soiled, and she called in the famous painter Gorívar, a disciple and nephew of Miguel's, to repair the damage. Upon his return, Santiago discovered in the joint of a finger that another brush had passed over his. They confessed the truth to him.

Our artist was a genius more angry than the sea when it rolls in the throes of griping pains. He was enraged at what he believed to be a profanation, and to Gorívar he gave a belting, while he sliced off one of his poor wife's ears. She fled to the *oidor* and reported the violence of her husband. Santiago, without any regard for the rank of that personage, attacked him also and gave him a caning. The *oidor* made off, and entered an accusation against the madman. The painter took refuge in the cell of a friar, and during the fourteen months he was in hiding he painted the fourteen pictures that embellish the Augustine cloisters. Among them one called the *Miracle of the Weighing of the Waxes* is worthy of special mention because of the expert management of the colors. It is asserted that one of the figures seen in it is a portrait of Miguel de Santiago himself.

III

When Miguel de Santiago again breathed the free air of his native city, his spirit was now a prey to the asceticism of his century. One idea held possession of his brain: to express on canvas the supreme agony of Christ. Many times he set himself to the task; but, discontented with his efforts, he threw away his palette and tore up the canvas. Not on this account, however, did he lose heart in his undertaking.

The fever of inspiration was devouring him, but, nevertheless, his brush was reluc-

¹A provincial judge.—THE EDITOR

tant to obey so powerful an intelligence and so decided a will. Genius, however, finds the means of coming out victorious. Among the pupils who frequented his studio was a youth of great beauty of form. Miguel thought he saw in him the model he needed for the complete realization of his idea.

He made him strip, and placed him upon a cross of wood, in an attitude in no sense agreeable or comfortable. Nevertheless, the countenance of the young man continued to wear a soft smile.

The artist, however, was not seeking an expression of complacency or of indifference, but one of pain and anguish.

"Dost thou suffer?" he kept asking his pupil.

"No, master!" replied the young man, smiling tranquilly.

Suddenly Miguel de Santiago, his eyes protruding from their sockets, his hair bristling, and uttering a horrible imprecation, thrust a lance into the side of the youth.

The young man groaned, and in his face began to be reflected the convulsions of death.

Miguel de Santiago, in a delirium of inspiration, with the fanatic madness of art, copied the mortal agony; and his brush, as quick as thought, flew over the stiff canvas.

The dying youth shivered, screamed, writhed on the cross; and Santiago, as he copied one after another of his convulsive movements, exclaimed with growing enthusiasm:

"Good, good, master Miguel! Good, very good, master Miguel!"

Finally the great artist unties his victim; he sees him bleeding and lifeless; he passes his hand across his brow, as if to recall what had happened; and, as one who awakens from a wearying dream, he measures the enormity of his crime. Horror stricken at himself, he dashes down his palette and brushes, and flies precipitately from the studio.

Art had dragged him to crime!

But his *Christ in Agony* was finished.

IV

This was the last picture by Miguel de Santiago. Its exceeding merit constituted the defense of the artist, who, after a long trial, obtained his acquittal.

The painting was taken to Spain. Does it still exist, or has it been lost through the notorious negligence of the Peninsula? We know not.

Miguel de Santiago, attacked from the day of his artistic crime by frequent hallucinations of the mind, died in November, 1673; and his sepulcher is at the foot of the altar of San Miguel, in the chapel of the Sagrario.



IMPRESSIONS OF THE VOLCANO OF SAN SALVADOR

BY

ROMEO FORTÍN MAGAÑA

On June 7 a year ago, the beautiful capital of El Salvador suffered the terrible consequences of an eruption from the volcano of San Salvador. The press of the day published numerous scientific articles relating to the earthquake, and not a few excursionists expressed their views in print. Our young friend, Fortín Magaña, kept his impressions in order to publish them completely in our review, and it is a source of satisfaction to us to give space to so interesting an account, on the first anniversary of the catastrophe.—Editor of *Actualidades*.

I HAD already traveled three kilometers from Santa Tecla. The ascent was so steep that the animal I was riding could not take another step. I had to stop; and I was now out of sorts and thinking of going back, when two peasants overtook me, and, seeing the sad plight of my Rocinante, they advised me to leave him at a wayside ranch, promising to be my guides by a shorter path. I accepted, leaving the poor beast in a ranch I came upon, a few steps beyond, and I continued on foot up the difficult ascent. So rough was the trail over which they took me that it would not be easy to find another equal to it. We had to pause several times to catch our breath, and then, as in an ecstasy, I admired the landscape.

The view stretched away. The scenery is startling. The earth, as far as the eye can reach, is covered with plantations of every description. At our feet is Santa Tecla, with its fine, straight streets, its buildings of varied architecture and the attractiveness of its outlying *paseos*.¹ Scattered hamlets and villages are visible. Beyond, lies lake Llopango, of a startling beauty, like a turquoise lost in the immense emerald of the landscape; and, still further, like a border, as if forming the frame of this picture of life and beauty, spreads the sea, the immense sea, with its white beaches and its sky-line that fades and is lost in the admirable heavens of our nature. The volcano of San Vicente and that of San Miguel, with their lofty peaks,

rise on the other side, in the same line with that of San Salvador whose dust I am treading, and with the precious turquoise of Llopango.

All is beautiful in the landscape, as also is beautiful and impassive the storm that rages here near at hand like a wild beast in chains!

"What is that?" I asked my guides.

"It is the volcano that rumbles," they replied.

Great God! Omnipotent God, who art pleased to show at times a glimpse of thy marvelous omnipotence!

What, however, is all this that fills me with wonder, in comparison with what I am to see afterward? Let us go forward.

The trail continues rough, but it is easy for any one who travels along it to doubt whether he is on the same volcano that a short time ago inclosed within its bowels the germ of desolation and death it afterward scattered over the whole face of the region. On both sides, the vegetation is full: the fields of corn, rice, beans and many other plants, offer to the traveler the pride of their florescence; only the pines, other great trees and the poor coffee-trees show their scorched branches and their tops in anguish, as witnesses of mute eloquence. We continue the ascent, and as we approach the end, the roar increases, while we see spreading out, there upon the summit, the immense jets of smoke, which will lose themselves in space as a protest in myriads of coiled parchments.

It was ten minutes to eleven, when a roar, more formidable than any that had gone before, indicated that we had finished

¹*Paseo*, in this sense, is more inclusive than any similar English word, as it designates a way developed for pleasure driving, riding or walking.—THE EDITOR.

the ascent. We were at the "spring of the pine," after having passed by a great masonry tank and a sort of aqueduct.

We saw the abyss, and what else? Oh, be silent, feel, and say nothing! What one beholds is overwhelming! What one hears is terrific! What one feels is the sum of all the sensations. There, love for God, for nature! There, terror of the monster that bellows so horribly! Hatred of all that is little and mean! One feels a wild desire to whirl, to be a particle of the peak that is evolving under our gaze! One feels more, much more!

We would follow the process of each eruption. For two or three minutes the monster is silent. Suddenly, with a tremendous rush, about five hundred meters beneath our feet, from the summit of a small cone that rises there at the bottom, is expelled a puff of smoke whose ascent gradually diminishes. A little after it appeared, there is heard a thunderous detonation, which reverberates and terrifies as if it were the chorus of a hundred immense mortars. From the depths issue boulders that rise, many of them, some five hundred meters above our heads; then they descend with a speed less than that of their ascent, and return to crash at the bottom, bursting in pieces as if they were grenades. Afterward, a detonation is heard for some moments, with a formidable concussion, like an attack by thousands of machine-guns, a quiver of several minutes, that goes on increasing in intensity as if more and yet more machine-guns are entering the combat, and it continues to increase still more until nature is but a single cry, a startling cry, a unique cry: all that is about us cries out; the heavens cry out, and the mountains, and we ourselves, in a frenzy of cries, cry also: "Oh, how grand! Great Nature! Gigantic Prometheus who art challenging God!" The atmosphere vibrates, echoes and bellows. . . . With this colossal outcry of a hundred mountains, no longer are they great boulders that rise, but stones, in immense quantities, which go less high, but which scatter more. The attack of the machine-guns ceases after some minutes, slowly and gradually; and in the open mouth of Vulcan, the smoke also ceases, but there

remains always a new kind of rumble: no longer are the mortars or machine-guns those that attack; it is an inner process of the mountain, as if into its depths the inside walls are falling, walls that will be the fuel of the next eruption. It seems that the noise in the invisible depths is produced by the stoker who feeds the fire. In the meanwhile, the smoke that issued in a compact form evolves before our view and becomes dissipated in the air, presenting a new appearance. How beautiful are those flaky treetops of cloud! How they turn upon themselves and lose and clothe themselves like nebulae that demonstrate before our eyes the process of the worlds. They look like nerved arms with hands that close with the clutching movement of a threat, and I, the audacious witness who contemplates this grandeur, could wish to spread my arms, and, like a god, embrace with them this compact mass, thrust myself into it, evolve with it and lose myself in the immense womb of space.

After having admired for several hours this grandiose phenomenon, in spite of the rain that began to fall with annoying insistence, and finding my clothing thoroughly wet, as I had come without coat or umbrella, and seeing that in the neighborhood there was not even a hut or a sheltering tree, I was disposed to set out in search of a place in which to pass the afternoon.

I intended to follow the line of the "boquerón,"² in order to admire still further the eruptions, which are repeated at almost mathematically regular intervals.

There filed past continually lively crowds of excursionists, some with field-glasses, others with cameras, and in this constant coming and going there fell from the lips of all the same expressions of enthusiasm and the utterance of the same accumulation of impressions with which I was filled.

I knew by the mouth of some of the tourists that recently a hotel had been established in the villa "Florescia," at a distance of some three kilometers from

²Augmentative of *boca*, mouth, and equivalent to big mouth.—THE EDITOR.

the place where I was, and I resolved to pass the afternoon in it. I directed my steps along the road that was pointed out to me, following always the path traced around the "boquerón."

Before arriving, however, I gazed at the capital. Its tall buildings, its cupolas of a hundred colors, its enormous steeples stand out, producing, as a whole, the impression of a sultaness adorned with her most precious jewels and reclining upon the immense tableland that surrounds the huge mass of San Salvador. He who has not passed through its streets and has not seen the ruined edifices; the mountains of rubbish; the shanties that, like bee-hives, shelter in their cells a human swarm; the continuous passage of carts carrying off the remains of what was yesterday a palace or a hut; the incessant removal of the ruins and the dismal demolition of homes; who has not seen the glorious marbles and bronzes scattered upon the hard couch of the pavement; the uprooted trees, the broken mausoleums, showing their horrible cracks like emblems of the laughter of death in the tragic spasm of a truncated life; who has not lived through a horrible night, a dance through interminable hours, a splendor of death, and afterward hunger, thirst and exposure to the weather; he who has not felt and seen all this, will believe, beloved city, martyr city, that thou art a garden of inexhaustible ambrosia, a garden of delight and beauty! Oh, vanity of vanities! How I admire thee from here, city that art but a single heart: thou seemest an unstained virgin! Let us weep; let us shed a few tears! Yet no: let us not weep; a new day will come: "*Surge et ambula!*"

I spent some hours at the hotel, refreshing myself with a cup of delicious coffee and a glass of lemonade, and then, near the close of day, I decided to return to the summit, thence to admire the sunset and watch the eruptions through the night. I thought I should be the only one to contemplate so much beauty during those mysterious hours; for great multitudes of people had returned to the city, fleeing the rain that continued to threaten; and during my climb, I met only four persons on horseback.

A little way along, the trail disappears, to continue further ahead, and it is necessary to be well acquainted with these parts in order to find it again. I, who went there for the first time, and who was going along absorbed in the mysteries of nature, lost my way.

I tumbled into places choked with vines, which I had to break with my hands, and with matted bushes, which I separated with difficulty. I escaped from one difficulty only to fall into another: here in mire, there a thicket, yet always going upward in order to reach the summit. Then I thought: O Dante! and "I lost my way in a dark forest." Where is the panther? Where the lion? The she-wolf? The cardinal sins? Come hither "to the middle of the way of life." O Dante!

When at length I succeeded in getting out of the forest, the ruddy declining sun gilded the countryside with its last kisses. The spirals of smoke from the great belching Vulcan extended slowly, and, like a veil, sought to conceal the bashfulness of the sun. The clouds, dressed in silks and fine laces, made display of their polychromy, and, in the midst of such magnificence, I, a solitary, interviewing God!

I crossed my arms—this position of the arms on the breast is the most eloquent poem of devotion and mute joy—and I exclaimed: "Mighty God, great Seer, of whose essence the overwhelming mystery before which I wonder is not even a particle! Eternal God, for whom the millenary ages are but infinitesimal fragments! Omnipotent God, who with but a gesture canst pulverize the worlds and shatter the fabrics of universal harmony! Great Father! Great Provider! Imponderable Potentiality, who art perceived both by the worm and the worlds: all praise thee, all bless thee and all believe in thee, who on Sinai didst cover thyself with flames and thunder, in order to give laws to thy people! Thou who didst carve those laws upon the hard stone, just as I have sought to decipher new laws in the immense streams of lava from the volcano that lies at my feet! Thou who countest a man a trifle, just as thou countest a mountain a pebble! God, who fillest all, confoundest all, gov-

ernest all! God, whom I fear, whom I venerate, whom I admire, hear me, listen to me, answer me with thy voice, which is thunder, thou whose thoughts are lightnings! Answer me through this mouth that thunders there at my feet! Formulate the desideratum of my country! Speak! Is it possible that a youthful people shall disappear—one that loves life because life is good—or must it live like a pauper lamenting the riches that only yesterday thou didst snatch away? Must my patria be a Job upon the dung-hill of the peoples? Speak, only Clairvoyant! What shall it be?

The sun was now hidden. The last splendors of evening were being slowly shaded out by the smudge of an invisible crayon of charcoal. The black clouds, which had been lowering in the east, had been gradually dissipated, and the moon, in crescent, like a sickle, shed the caresses of its light. The stars were twinkling, and the planets, with their fixed pupils, seemed to be deciphering the arcanum.

Slowly I approached, in order the better to admire, the place where I had been in the morning, "the spring of the pine," and there, as in a tower I awaited the reply.

I looked; what did I see? O Dante, thou knowest now! Thou who didst cross the threshold of the inferno, come to my aid!

From the depth of the blackened mouth of that monster there arose toward the clouds a frightful outcry, as if a legion of the damned and of demons were hurling at heaven the most horrifying blasphemies. Immense tongues of flame, that licked at the borders, sprang upward, and, like serpents, they intertwined, to render ready tribute to their savage idyl.

Great fiery boulders rose above the edges, shot upward into space, like projectiles hurled by terraqueous anger against the invisible God, touched the crests of the clouds, hung for a moment, and, afterward, hissing as if to voice their impotence, returned, changed into sparks, to wound the wrathful monster below. It casts up new boulders, and again, in returning, they wound it anew. Now the monster is bleeding. Each boulder that falls is a

wound it leaves, and, as it breaks into a thousand pieces, it seems that in every wound is reproduced the grandeur of the whole.

The smoke whirls in spirals about the flames and the light, and bathing itself in them at times it goes out and at times it catches fire, and, like the glare of a conflagration, it seems as if in its inside there cross each other, in a mad race, naked demons hurling their tridents into the exuberant flesh of women who struggle to escape. There I saw pass Malacoda, Malebranche, Alichino and Calcabrina, Libicocco, Farfarello and Barbariccia! In the midst of the incessant clamor of the frightful outcry, I heard another sound still greater. It was God, who was speaking to me by the mouth of the pit! It was God, who was answering, and he said: "Why fearest thou? I love thy country, and from death life will spring!"

Then I had a dream.

Immense caravans, in all the garbs of the world, went climbing up by another road opened along the side of a volcano. I saw the ruddy Yankee who, in a delirium of enthusiasm, poured out his money to a vigorous people. . . . Rich Europeans were riding upon beautiful sorrel horses: there rode lords, counts, dukes, great noblemen, and I even thought I saw a crowned head. Then there passed men with turban and cimeter, and men of the color of ebony, and they kept on passing. What means this immense caravan?

I turned my gaze elsewhere and I saw. . . . What a beautiful region! What handsome cities! Everywhere, in the city, in the country, immense chimneys indicate the throb of factories.

I looked in another direction. . . . Hundreds of men half stripped are working upon a black substance; each blow of the pick brings out a spark. That black mass is lava.

Then I hear, rising to the heights in a united hymn from the cities, from the country, from the lakes, from the seas and even from the multilingual caravan, the same cry of God! "From death life will spring."

HOW LONG?

BY

M. A. DÍAZ

Puerto Rico has not only been ready to make contribution of money and men to the cause of humanity in the great struggle in which the world is involved, but she has shown herself also to be intellectually and morally awake to the true nature of the war, as is manifest day by day in the press and literature of the island. The author of this article not only arraigns the Teutonic powers for their onslaught upon civilization, but he also shows a clear discernment of the forces working in them to hasten their downfall, and to procure their liberation, together with that of the rest of the world.—THE EDITOR.

MANY are the opinions that fluctuate in the several judgments expressed regarding the termination of the war.

Even if many statesmen of standing, well informed in military subjects, and whose knowledge in this respect is beyond question, as they may be placed in the category of *oracles*, have prophesied that the destructive European war may yet continue several years longer, I believe, with due modesty, that the day is not so far removed in which humanity will rest, overwhelmed by the weight of so many calamities, and in which the contenders, in order to preserve their material existence, will be forced to lay down their weapons, their bodies worn and weak, their treasuries stripped and exhausted, their materials of war consumed, and, above all, in the presence of the energetic resistance of the *cannon flesh*, which refuses to go to the *slaughter-house*.

The extremes of attack to which the Teutons have gone indicates the state of fierce desperation in which they are.

It is necessary to end it all at once!

Their endurance, however, is very great, even if formidable the assault; and the problem is not being solved favorably for the Teutons, who fear that the fatal moment will arrive when, *casting away their arms*, they refuse to march to the front—those who, deceived until now, have poured out their blood with the hope that peace would be won by their effort, which has proved to be fruitless in the presence of the heroism of the Entente.

Studying scrupulously the present circumstances that unite to secure the desideratum of the struggle, and analyzing

coldly the details and incidents that, although of great importance, are passing unperceived, I should venture to assert that the devastating hydra will die of anemia in the course of the coming year of 1919, which, on the other hand, will be called upon to witness great developments, radical changes, incredible transformations.

All Europe is stirring.

The whole world is moving.

Is there, perhaps, any one who can venture to say that the sun of liberty will not soon illuminate all the corners of the Old World?

Servile passiveness in obedience is and has always been everywhere the main cause of the growth of despotism and autocracy.

These are illegal and criminal absurdities that, as an effect of the evolutionary law of progress, ought to have disappeared long ago from the face of the earth!

As long, however, as there have been those who would obey, blindly and fanatically, and those who could be made to obey by force, tyrants have lived like accursed polypi, feeding their vanity with the blood of the peoples which, unhappily, placed their destiny within the reach of their iron clutches.

The only two empires in ancient Europe which, although of hoary antiquity, still dispose in an authoritative manner of their *subjects*, sending them like unconscious cattle to the slaughter, driving them like a herd of sheep, without its making any difference to them what the fate of the unfortunate might be, are the representatives of the baneful and exhausted stock of the Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs.

They have had at the service of their tragic caprice the fanatical obedience of the people, and the auxiliary material force of the army, as fanatical as the people.

Pride dominates them, their already exhausted strength being galvanized, although in their inner-consciousness they know that the prosecution of this terrible war is bearing them on with rapidity to imminent bankruptcy and perhaps to the suicide of their royalty.

The vertigo that impels them toward the abyss will inevitably have its corollary in the final disaster.

For some time the equalitarian, socialistic and liberative societies have been stirring in the central empires, and they are observing with a feeling of genuine humanity the uninterrupted disappearance of useful men: intellectuals and laborers, involved in the sanguinary whirlpool that scourges the nations with war, fruitless in the end, only to maintain the hardness of heart of the two peoples that have declared themselves the enemies of the new-born and the ravagers of the weak. Such are *Germany* and *Austria*.

Turkey . . . Turkey follows them from necessity, and from the fear she has of them.

They have lighted the destructive torch of a war unexampled in the history of horrors: a war, terrible and without quarter, which desolates and razes, abominable because it lets loose fire and shell upon defenseless cities!

It is an accursed war that implacably sacrifices women, children and the aged, for the crime of being patriots!

Finally, an infamous war, artful and cowardly, is the one waged by the Teutons, who sink neutral vessels and basely assassinate innocent passengers.

In their devastating rage, they have reached the *non plus ultra* of infamy, with the aggravating circumstances of premeditation and perfidy, hardened and indifferent to the clamor of the world!

The autocrats, the *knights of terror*, have gone forward in their thankless task, driving the unbalanced brains of the degenerate sons of crime to all the infamies that could be imagined.

All this is due to the fact that they have depended upon human elements of unconditional passivity: upon servants or slaves who obeyed them without conscience: upon men-things, beings lacking in will, who had learned to consider *as divine* the imperious voice of the crowned brigands who came to them crying, thirty years ago now: *Wound, set on fire, kill!*

Everything in life has its limit, however.

Reason must be applied, at last, condemning energetically before the world all these many evils and all these fruitless deaths!

The tears of so many abandoned orphans and widows raise a formidable echo of indignation against the causers of such misfortunes.

The army and the laborers, two entities of striking significance, have now begun to resist the tyrannical orders of those who drive them to the sacrifice.

The laborers of Germany and Austria have no will to manufacture any more destructive agencies.

The army has on several occasions resisted driving them by force to work, because even the army is not inclined to fight any longer.

It is wearied and decimated.

The ideas of moral, social and political emancipation that revolutionary Russia has proclaimed, spanning the distance, have reached the very workshops of the central empires, arousing the resigned sons of toil, and drawing from their vigorous breasts an energetic voice of protest against the fatal decree that condemns to death, far from their homes, their brothers, who fall without honor and without glory.

They bear on their foreheads the stigma of *assassin*!

Rebellion therefore has now begun in the *cannon flesh* they compelled to leave the workshop, and, abandoning home and family, carry the knapsack in order to go to leave their bones there, far away, hated, because of the *absolute lord, the destroyer of Europe*.

The breezes of freedom have sprung up.

A sense of dignity, awakening unselfish feelings in the pariahs, has given them a

knowledge of man's mission upon the earth.

This is not, in truth, to devour each other, like savage and cannibal beasts. The proletariat of those empires is preparing to call a *collective strike*.

Then what . . . ?

Also the army, that *institution of iron*, which has been for so long the *purveyor of death*, has become tired of killing and dying.

Although the rigid vigilance of the Teutons does not permit to escape from the country much news that might give even an approximate idea of the internal condition that has arisen, it is known, nevertheless, that both in the barracks and on the field the soldiers have refused to take part in an active campaign.

Many have deserted, throwing away their arms.

On several occasions the horrible Kaiser has reduced them to obedience with bullets.

Always blood. . . . !

These extremes of tyranny, however, may drive him to a *débâcle*; for indiscipline increases extensively and rapidly in the military class when it is fomented by discontent.

When once discontent is sowed, it can

produce terrible consequences for those thrones, which the action of time, as well as the destroying infiltration of the spirit of the age, has undermined at their bases.

If the people and the army refuse to continue a war imposed by tyranny, perhaps there may occur a downfall of the thrones that are already tottering, as happened with the throne of Russia, in order to crush beneath their weight two royal families.

These are certainly the most despotic, the most authoritarian, the most insolent of all that have ruled over unhappy multitudes of men.

The Muscovite nation is at present passing over its Calvary.

Will it reach Tabor?

It seems as if its resurrection were beginning, with the aid of new institutions and under the shadow of the rehabilitating banner that must be set up by a new and solid form of government, in accordance with the dictates of civilization and on the plane of the legitimate aspirations of that people oppressed so long by hoary tyranny.

As to the *Teutons*, let us wait a little longer.

The crisis will not long delay.

The end of the bloody tragedy is at hand. .



THE EVOLUTION OF RIGHTS AND POLITICS

BY

CARLOS OCTAVIO BUNGE

The position occupied by Carlos Octavio Bunge, who died on May 22, 1918, may be measured by the space devoted to him in the press of Argentina, and, indeed, in that of all the American countries of Spanish speech as well as of Brazil and Spain. The dailies published immediately after his death contained numerous articles upon his life, personality and career as a lawyer, professor and man of letters. Practically all the magazines and reviews made comment upon him and published one or more articles written by him. *Nosotros*, one of the leading literary monthlies of Buenos Aires, not only made allusion to him in the May number, but it issued in July a number extraordinary, consisting of some one hundred and thirty pages, entirely devoted to Doctor Bunge. That number contains brief selections from his works; an article upon his psychology, by his kinsman and colleague, Ernesto Quesada; one upon his university personality, by his friend Carlos Saavedra Lamas, the former minister of justice and public instruction; an estimate of the writer and the man, by Manuel Gálvez; reflections at his tomb, by Carlos E. Ibarguren; a study of the philosopher of the law, by Professor E. Martínez Paz; a comment upon his book, *Nuestra América*, by Emelio Ravignani; a personal tribute by Juan Álvarez; an account of his activity in the chair of introduction to the law, by Ricardo Levene; and tributes, by Professor Horacio C. Rivarola, of the university of Buenos Aires, and by the historian and journalist, Mariano de Vedia y Mitre; an article on the liberal, by Roberto F. Giusti; and an article on the man, by his secretary, Carlos E. Llambí, who also prepared the bibliography from which we have made up the list of Doctor Bunge's works appended to the following article, which was published in the *Revista de Filosofía*, of Buenos Aires, shortly before the author's death.—THE EDITOR.

I

HUMAN SPECIFICITY AND THE ARISTOCRATIC PRINCIPLE

RIGHTS may be considered as the universal product of two combined principles or elements: first, custom, the conservative principle or female element; second, innovation, the progressive principle or male element. The combination, however, of these two age-long factors is not sufficient to explain the historical phenomenon of the democratic and equalitarian evolution of rights. Why is it that all the rights of privilege, caste and class are disappearing every day? How has a uniform, sole, continuous evolution of rights toward "social equality" been produced? If this evolution is inherent in human nature, if the leveling principle in the juridical state of men represents a fatalistic tendency of the human spirit, how is the historical reality of castes and conquest to be understood?

I find in biology the explanation of the equalitarian process of rights, which is also naturally that of politics, morality and religion. I shall therefore set forth what I

conceive to be the fundamental causes of castes and of the struggle of classes. I shall outline for this purpose a biological theory of history. It seems to me that only by means of this explanation can we appreciate the importance and scope of the present socialistic movement which tends to disturb so profoundly our old ideas of rights.

The word "right" involves to-day a series of theological and metaphysical prejudices that obscure and even warp its true scientific meaning. By vague associations of ideas, "right" savors of principles of equality, dignity, philanthropy, even of divine justice. Nevertheless, in all languages and in all epochs, a "right" is always a power of the individual or of a group. The right of *patria potestas* implies the authority of the father of a family over his children; that of property, the authority of a person or of several persons over an object; that of sovereignty, the authority of the state over the citizens, etc. These powers establish more than the principle of general equality: rather the opposite, that of inequality. The different rights of each man, each group and each state constitute such a distribution of all the powers involved, by its mere existence, in a system of privileges. The

same right of the political equality of the French revolution or that of the economic equality of socialism rests essentially on a power that is granted to the oppressed and disinherited, against the oppressors and capitalists; it constitutes the right of rebellion that is given to some in respect of others, accepting as a final cause a utopian similarity of condition between all men. I say "utopian" because I consider it contrary to the biological principle of human specificity. We are going to see here how a similar specificity,¹ above all, if not in "races"—since this word is a phantasm very difficult to define—in ethnic differentiations, an expression that is equivalent to the same thing, for the theory that I am developing. Let it be understood therefore that I refer to these indisputable differentiations when I speak of races.

Biological phenomena may well be reduced to the following three modalities or forms: first, the environment creates the function; second, the function creates the organ; third, organs create species.

Like all animals, the genus or species *homo* is constituted with these principles of life. Whatever be the doctrines held regarding the origin of man, it is evident that the geographical medium fashions races. Ethnic tendencies, even if they be more or less marked and durable, result from adaptation and inheritance. The physiology and psychology of the races depend upon the environment in which they have lived: on climate and nourishment. The influence of the geographical medium is all the greater in proportion as the period is longer through which the stock has lived in it. Therefore, if we go back into the antiquity of man, beyond the quaternary period, the prehistoric life, from being immensely longer than the historic, is that which must have formed the races, since the historic life has not had time to modify profoundly otherwise than by cognations and mixtures.

Apart from the remotest antiquity that is demonstrated by paleontology, the warlike isolation of the savage and barbarous

peoples has inclosed or circumscribed the stocks, thus facilitating their ethnic differentiations. Gumplowicz well says that the development of prehistoric humanity was the inverse of the historic, since the former implies a *process of the differentiation*, and the latter, a process of the *assimilation of heterogeneous elements*.² Whether man had one origin or several origins, monogenists and polygenists can not deny the fact of an ethnic isolation much greater in the prehistoric tribes than in modern peoples. The systematic fusion of races constitutes a phenomenon whose greatest types, to be found in the Austro-Hungarian empire and in America, are, so to speak, recent.

Two great political principles maintained, in my judgment, prehistoric isolation and that of the first periods of history. One of them depended upon the system of castes and slavery, which condemned and prohibited the crossing of the conquerors with the conquered. No people of those periods, I believe, has represented an exception to this regimen, more or less strict in principles and more or less lax in practice. Exogamy was practised between mere varieties of the same race, rather than between distinct races.

The idea of the conquest and organization of the ancient empires is the second political principle to which I refer. All the history of Rome demonstrates to satiety that her idea of conquest was not that of assimilating the conquered people, but of subjecting it by arms, in order to receive tribute. The conquest of the Asiatic peoples, especially that of the Medes and Persians, possessed this character even more markedly. *The perpetual edict or law that changes not* of the Medes and Persians was a law of exceedingly heavy taxes. At other times the tribute was not paid in taxes, but directly, in work, either by means of slavery or by castes. This occurred when the conqueror established himself in the territory of the conquered, or rather, which was rarer, when he transported *en masse* to his territory the conquered people. Ancient conquest and empire consisted therefore

¹C. O. Bunge: *El derecho (ensayo de una teoría integral)*, fourth edition, Buenos Aires, 1916-1917, volume II, pages 68-71.

²Gumplowicz: *The Struggle of the Races*, Spanish translation, Madrid, page 201.

in an imposition of tributes, sometimes in kind and sometimes in work.

Tribute in kind or in work and the ancient and Roman conquest presuppose a sufficiently marked ethnic difference. The prehistoric process had then reached such a degree that it could produce history, since "all civilization is the work of an aristocracy." The fact prior to all aristocracy, to all civilization, to all history, has always been the ethnic differentiation caused by human adaptation to different environments. Of these environments, some were favorable and others unfavorable to the progress of human intellect and powers. Therefore, as the races were forming, some acquired aptitudes for domination, and others did not acquire them, or rather, all acquired them, although in a different degree.

Human struggle may be internal or external. It is internal when it takes place within the social group, and external when it occurs between one group and another. Internal struggle must have established the first rights: those of the individual over his weapons, his prey, his women, his children, his slaves. The external struggle generated, first, something like an embryo of political rights over the territory of the chase and, next, also over the labor of the conquered. Every external war or struggle had as its cause then the ethnic specificity that gave rise to strong tribes and weak tribes.

2

ETHNIC DIFFERENTIATION AND JURIDICO-POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

In accordance with the general biological ideas outlined in the preceding section, the following special principles relative to man and his history may be stated: first, geography determines the formation of races, that is, the specificity of mankind; second, human specificity gives rise to war and conquest; third, conquest produces classes; fourth, social classes constitute the state.

Such is the bio-sociological scheme. The laws of life generate, through the ethnic process, the political principle of the state. On its part, this principle produces legislation. Ethnic differentiation is trans-

formed into juridico-political differentiation.

It is to the interest of the ruling classes to maintain this new differentiation. To this end they struggle to give it foundation and effectiveness. The foundations are laid in the religioso-moral systems; effectiveness depends upon the juridical norms, which are then based upon the laws. Therefore the juridical norm, whose first origin depends upon internal struggle—that is, upon what takes place within the family or clan—acquires, through the external or intersocial struggle, dialectic forms tending to give it greater precision and stability.

It is of no importance that we inquire whether the four great races—white, yellow, black and American—may really be considered "species," or whether they are simply "varieties," or even "sub-varieties" of a single "variety." It makes no difference, because, according to the undeniable transformistic theory, every species springs from a variety and every variety tends to develop into a species. The concepts of species and varieties are therefore elastic and relative. The only fundamental principle is that of adaptation or the struggle for existence, that is to say, of specificity, genus, species, varieties, subvarieties, etc.

In the internal struggle, the human right is, so to speak, an animal right. The primitive man's ownership over his prey does not differ much from that of an animal over its own: the authority of the father in respect of his children is like that of any primate in respect of its cubs. The *jus naturale* of Ulpianus is the right of the savage man. However, just as the savage man evolves toward the civilized man, the primary juridical reactions evolve toward a social justice. Society, civilization and history represent the super-evolution of the genus *homo*. The same may be said of rights. Therefore "right" always signifies inequality. The right of a man to his son, a minor in age, argues the co-existence of two unequal men: the father, with his capacity and experience; and the son, who is still lacking in both of these things. A man's right to an object implies the coexistence of this man, with

power over the object, and of other men who may be able to condition or claim it. A state's right of sovereignty over its territory involves the coexistence of a state, with exclusive authority over such territory, and of other states. The greater age and experience of the father, the greater power of a man over a thing, the larger authority of the state over the territory, are impossible, if there do not exist many men and many states with unequal powers. In its last analysis, a right is an inequality tolerated or authorized by law. The law consists of an aggregate of norms that obliges each and all to respect the rights of others and which entitles them to retain their own.

I do not undertake to solve with the principle of human specificity the *vexata quaestio* of the "superior" and "inferior" races, which has recently so much stirred the anthropologists and sociologists, and even more the innumerable *dilettanti* of anthropology and sociology. Nothing could be less scientific, nothing more grotesque, than their ideas regarding the "superiority" of the Anglo-Saxons, for example, or of the Latins. In the white race, there are so much mixture and so many different qualities that it is now comic to discuss those supposed absolute "superiorities" which Giordano Bruno called the "vain-glory of nations." I state here simply the phenomenon of differentiation, which, without doubt, in certain historical moments, implies superiority or inferiority, at least in political, economic and military aptitude. The differentiation was naturally much more marked between the prehistoric tribes and ancient empires than between modern peoples, because while the former lived in isolation, the latter exchange between themselves all their improvements and discoveries, at times, even with manifest imprudence.

In conclusion, specificity is all the greater in proportion as we ascend in the animal scale. Man represents the highest product of the animal kingdom. Therefore specificity is greater in him than in any other genus or species. From this maximum specificity results social super-evolution. The juridico-political form of this super-evolution generates the *aristocratic prin-*

ciple, or that of castes. This principle creates and determines the civilized historical or super-evolutionary form of law, by creating and determining at the same time the state. Without the state, law would be maintained as a confused embryo of simple animal reactions. In order to give stability to the social super-organism, man completes thus the work of law, by instituting the political organ that gives to it the necessary efficacy.

3

DEGENERATION AND THE EQUALITARIAN PRINCIPLE

If the dominant races were able to maintain their superiority stationary, social organization, once established, would be invariable. Social castes or classes would remain separate *in aeternum*; the conquerors would continue indefinitely their political and economic supremacy over the conquered. However, just as biology teaches us that specificity is greater in proportion as the organism is more complicated, so it demonstrates to us that all organisms, including the most complicated, are susceptible of *degeneration*. Even it might be said, among the human races or species, the so-called "superior" ones seem to be the more inclined to degenerate physiologically.

Castes determine a social organization not always favorable to the physical and psychic health of the dominators. Power and wealth conduce to forced mental work, the lack of sufficient physical activity, excessive alimentation and marriages of convenience, factors that tend to debilitate and to intoxicate men. Hence aristocratic domination may be compared to parasitism. The consequent decadence of the dominators, although it may not imply in reality a case of descendent selection, must be considered as a kind of counter-selection or selection backward. Several generations of intellectual life and relative physical idleness produce in human races a certain diminution of vitality, which is often manifested in exhaustion and neurosis.

Inversely, it occurs at times in history that the subject castes or classes, especially among farmers, become strengthened and

regenerated in their country life and in work. Domination, far from weakening them, serves them as a stimulus. Several generations of laborers, in circumstances more or less favorable, usually yield an inverse result to that of the corresponding generations of aristocrats: while the latter become weaker, the former become stronger. The submissive groups being strengthened, continuous contact with the higher civilization of the dominant elements broadens their spiritual horizon. By this means the victory of the strong castes—which make of the conquered, servants, agriculturists and manufacturers, and, of the conquerors, princes, priests and soldiers—must tend toward the degeneration of the strong and the regeneration of the weak. This regeneration may be physical, by the process of hygiene, and moral, by contact with culture. As the old Castilian adage says:

As walls come down, rubbish heaps go up.

Naturally, while specificity maintains the classes in command, their rule is *just*: it is imposed by the fatality of biological and historical laws. Not so is it when the subservient attain a vital energy greater than that of their decadent overlords; then domination becomes, although not yet *unjust*, at least *irritating*. Inferiors dominate superiors! The latter, by their utilitarian animal instinct, rebel; they initiate a *struggle of classes*. The idleness of the successful comes to be the source of their ruin, and the labor of the subject classes, the foundation of their future greatness. The ideal of the struggle of classes will be then, against the hated aristocracy, an heroic *equalitarian tendency*. Just as the dominant classes invented in the past the law of inequality, the subject classes invent now the law of equality.

History represents therefore an endless struggle between two tendencies: the aristocratic and the equalitarian. The aristocratic tendency springs from an *original specificity*; and the equalitarian, from the *inversion of this specificity*, if I may be permitted to speak thus, *by degeneration*. In a certain manner, the external struggles or those of conquest, correspond to the

first tendency; and the national or class struggles, that is, civil wars, to the second.

At any moment of history, men consider themselves—theoretically, ethically and religiously—now equal among themselves, now unequal. In the first case, human specificity tends to alter such a state by producing aristocratic rules and empires; in the second, the degeneration of the richer and more powerful and the regeneration of the poorer and humbler cause the struggle of classes, the democratic tendency. This dualism of superiority and degeneration constitutes the essential antinomy of man; it represents the secret of the *instability* of rights, politics, morality, religion and philosophy; it is, in a word, the springs of history.

If men did not degenerate *unequally*—those on top more than those underneath, the richer more than certain of the poor—aristocracies would be definitive. However, within the essential antinomy of specificity and degeneration, everything seems to be sufficiently evanescent and irregular in the evolution of races and peoples. On the other hand, without its specific differences, mankind would be able to adopt, like any animal species, any kind of relative and apparent finality. Without these differences, there would not exist, in individuals and societies, diverse conceptions of progress, diverse capacities for *aspiration*. Such aspiration would be impossible: man would live in nature like the anthropoids. Man would not be man!

In order that the struggle of classes may take place, it is necessary that both processes, the degenerative and the regenerative, or at least the first of them, shall have achieved a certain development. A ruling class, although it decay physically, possesses many means of preserving its domination. Laws, traditions, beliefs, all favor it; only a little prudence and ability are necessary on its part. When, however, degeneration is prolonged and it increases, the dominant caste, without reins with which to subject its passions, impulsive and cruel because of its own morbidity, stretches its rule until it becomes unbearable. This is the time when the

subject class rebels, creating, against the old aristocratic rights, new equalitarian rights.

Although domination almost always produces a process of greater or less degeneration among the upper ranks of society, it is not always the cause of regeneration on the part of the subject classes. Ancient slavery, for example, doubtless induced more decadence even than the indolence, mental work and excessive nourishment of the aristocratic classes. On the other hand, there have been in history subject races that showed themselves to be absolutely incapable of regeneration. Only certain happy circumstances can produce this favorable change.

It might be accepted, as a general rule, that the cruelty and avarice of the ruling classes tend to the degeneration of the oppressed, the pariahs or slaves. Nevertheless, history presents cases enough of subservient races or classes that have become renewed and have risen in rebellion against their old conquerors. These cases serve to justify the theory set forth regarding biological specificity, social classes and degeneration.

4

THE EQUALITARIAN REACTION IN ORIENTAL CULTURES

It is indubitable that rights and politics have revealed, during all human history, a certain equalitarian tendency. Every civilization springs from inequality, and inequality tends immediately toward equality. Such an evolution is to be noted particularly in the religious systems which have symbolized the fundamental concepts of rights and morality. Two of the most characteristic aristocratic and imperialistic forms of the early ages—Brahmanism and the Roman dominion—determined, in truth, the two equalitarian religions that to-day boast the greatest number of adherents. In the Orient, the primitive civilization, that of India, gave rise to the Buddhist reaction; and in the West, Roman imperialism facilitated, even if it did not provoke, the Christian reaction. Let us see, in a large and summary manner, what was the nature of these two universal movements.

By virtue of human specificity and the degeneration of the ruling classes, history—I mean, the past of humanity—from the remotest times of the pithecanthropi, and the Anthropithici or man-apes, can be divided into two immense epochs: the epoch of *castes* and that of a supposed *equality*. During the first of these, men were divided strictly into castes or social classes, according as their race were strong and conquering or weak and conquered, some of them oppressing and exploiting the rest. Certain oppressive classes, however, having declined in authority and fallen into laziness, and some of the oppressed having renewed themselves in rustication and labor, the powerful at times became the weaker, and the oppressed, the stronger. Although personages had changed in ability, they continued to play the ancient parts in the human comedy.

There arrived thus in India, the cradle of culture, a moment in which the law consecrated by the Brahmanical religion was out of harmony with reality, an insistent historical judgment before which this law turned out to be "unjust." Indeed, it could no longer appear "just" that those who were then inferior, the superiors of other days, should oppress the superiors of that period, although they had been the inferiors in a past epoch. In other words, the agriculturists and manufacturers, having come to be, by regeneration, as capable as or more capable than the soldiers and priests, it was not logical that they should continue to support the ancient tyranny. A right that is not "just" is not a right; a right that becomes "unjust" ceases to be a right, and against an old right that is falling into decay is set up a new right that is coming into force; over the "conventional" truth, which is ceasing to be truth, triumphs the *sincere* truth, which is, in its time, one and "eternal." Out of this sprang Buddha and his equalitarian doctrine. How, indeed, to struggle against a right of profound inequality, except by opposing to it a contrary one, that is, one of equality? How to overthrow the religion of castes, which was decaying, except by sowing among its remains a religion *against* castes? For every ideal that perishes,

there is a contrary one being born! The ideal of oppression, the right of force to the service of hunger and love, had persisted throughout ages and ages. From the quaternary and even from the tertiary period, all the prehistory and the beginnings of history were unalterably aristocratic, until the Buddhistic reaction ushered in, with the struggle of classes, the equalitarian era, which, in turn, has lasted now some four or five thousand years.

Brahmanism was the *sumum*, the most typical and vigorous expression of the aristocratic, and Buddhism, of the democratic principle. Men are all, as individuals or as peoples or races, unequal among themselves: some are apter and others less apt in overcoming the difficulties of life. Their inequalities tend, in an originary or ideal state of universal or perfect democracy, to produce struggle, for sustenance at the beginning, and then also for supremacy. In man, there are not only hunger and love, as in the beasts, but also *aspiration*. Struggle divides men into strong and weak, into conquerors and conquered, externally, ostensibly, *politically*. Therefore struggle forges castes. So that, in order to suppress castes, it would be necessary to suppress struggle. This was the dilemma, according to Buddha: either struggle, and with it, castes; or abolish struggle, in order to abolish castes. In view of this historical situation, Buddha preached quietism, Nirvana, non-action, not-being, perfection through knowledge, knowledge through contemplation. This constitutes the essence of Buddhism, that is, philosophic Buddhism. What is commonly called "stoic Buddhism" is nothing more than an aggregation of the religious superstitions that existed prior to the advent of Buddha, and that were artificially attached thenceforth to his doctrine by certain adherents.

The best informed Sanscritists explain, contrary to the meaning historical tradition attributes to Nirvana, that it is not so often nor so profoundly mentioned in the texts, and that it may not always be translated by "annihilation," because, with this translation, many passages prove to be absurd or unintelligible. As to the first, it is sufficient to reply that, if, indeed,

the dialectic name is not repeated often in the texts, the thing itself exists in the Buddhistic reaction, and it even constitutes its psychological and sociological essence. As to the second, it ought to be noted that the translation given by these Sanscritists to the term is that of "exemption from human passions," "holiness," "beatitude," rather than that of absolute not-being. Also it seems that at times it means "quietism" after death. In truth, the ancient inhabitants of India believed in the transmigration of souls, which passed from men into the animals, successively, in a continuous movement. These transitions were symbolized in the ocean of Sangsara by the waves that come and go.

Be it so; Buddhistic symbolism is wont to present Nirvana as an island of everlasting rest after death, situated in the midst of the tumultuous Sangsara. So that the word "Nirvana" may be rendered as the beatific life upon earth and as the infinite repose of the soul. Such is precisely the fundamental idea of the religious and philosophical Nirvana: the *non-struggle*, which fanaticism, logical in its exaggeration, transforms into not-being, non-action, non-existence, complete annihilation. Besides, our modern intelligence easily distinguishes between the idea of beatitude on earth and that of *post-mortem* rest or destruction; but this elementary distinction could not have been so easy for the East Indian mind, which was imbued with the idea of immortality and that of the ceaseless transmigration of souls. This people found in Nirvana *liberation*, not only from earthly oppressions, but also from the old, implacable deities. Nirvana came to intervene in the exemption from sorrow and pain by means of quietism and non-struggle.

5

THE EQUALITARIAN REACTION IN OCCIDENTAL CULTURES

In a vast, generic sense, we all know that Christianity possesses a marked equalitarian tendency. As Saint Paul said:

There can be neither Jew nor Greek, there can be neither bond nor free, there can be no

male and female; for ye all are one man in Christ Jesus.³

Jesus established the equality of all men, and if to any of them he gave preference, it was to the unfortunate and humble. Hence he reacted from and strove against the aristocratic principle of the ancient societies; he despised the rich, in order to exalt the poor man and set him on high. Such a system of absolute equality is impossible, however, in human societies, organized always upon the basis of the unequal distribution of labor. Therefore Jesus declared admirably:

My kingdom is not of this world.⁴

In order to achieve equality, Buddha proclaimed non-struggle, contemplation and the so-called Nirvana. In a more practical sense, with a perfect intuition of the Western peoples, Jesus limited himself to keeping silent regarding work. Work always represents a form of struggle, and it generates the division of labor, that is, inequality in the exercise of human activities. If Jesus had advocated work as a means of perfection, he would also have favored inequality, although indirectly.

Certain exegetes and critics are accustomed to point out as a "lacuna" of the New Testament the absence from it of judgments regarding work. Harnack recognizes the existence of this "lacuna," and he explains it on two grounds. The first of these is found in the fact that work always depends upon the phases of history: to link religion with work would imply linking it with a determinate phase of history. History being changeable and its phases passing, such a relation would involve a genuine offense against the universal, abstract and eternal character of religion. The second reason consists in the fact that work does not represent a "human end."

However precious civilization or culture may be, work constitutes only a means of achieving the general good: we do not live to work, but to love and to be loved. Faust is right in saying that work is repugnant when it is nothing more than work; work must have love as its

object. The pleasure that work bestows is secondary in itself; there is much rhetoric in the well known conventional praise of it.⁵

These explanations of the evangelical "lacuna" seem to me childish. The true explanation is to be found in the historical, economic and psychological character of Christianity, that is, in its equalitarian tendency, so opposed to the true nature of work. Much more positive than the modern socialists, Jesus must have observed that communistic activity in its form of absolute equality is antibiological, that is, contrary to the true specific character of humanity. Although Jahveh had imposed work in Genesis, and although communistic work constitutes *in theory* the only possible conciliation between equality and work, the Redeemer did not counsel such communistic work. Nothing could be more prudent. On the other hand, neither did he go so far as to proclaim absolute inaction, which, enjoined too categorically, would have made his doctrine repugnant to the Hebrew people, in itself active and enterprising.

Conceiving of the desired absolute equality only for the reign of his Father, Jesus condemned human inequality, and consequently its social and juridical consecration, that is, the laws and the state. Nevertheless, nothing was further from his spirit than to present himself as a political revolutionary, as the champion of a program of institutions and government.

When the multitudes wished to proclaim him king, he fled from them. While he praised humility, contempt of earthly goods, and even sacrifice, he did not hesitate to tolerate submission to the authorities. When his disciples were accused, his counsel was always: "Go and present yourselves to the priests." By this, however, he did not mean to say that he recognized the lay and the religious authorities as legitimate. Against the latter he hurled his most terrible imprecation:

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye tithe mint and anise and cummin, and ye have left undone the weightier matters of the law: judgment and mercy and faith;

³Galatians, 3:28.

⁴John, 19:36.

⁵A. Harnack: *The Essence of Christianity*, Spanish translation, Barcelona, 1904, volume 1, page 110.

but these ye ought to have done, and not to have left the other undone.⁶

Some exegetes hold that Jesus attacked in a frank and decided manner the religious authorities only, and that, on the other hand, he obeyed the "legal authorities." This sharp distinction between the legal and religious authority, is, however, too subtle and modern for that period: it might be considered a patent anachronism. Christ barely outlined a vague and innovating distinction between Cæsar and God. Doubtless his indignation was greater with the scribes and Pharisees, and less, almost null, with the Roman functionaries. It is logical that it should have been so, as the latter, unlike the former, did not oppose any transcendent religion to his doctrine. Yet it is certain that both fell under his essential condemnation of all human inequality, of all rights and all politics.

The false and anachronistic hermeneutics that I am pointing out produces, in addition to a mistaken application of the modern criterion to ancient things, the good desire of these exegetes, generally Protestant, to harmonize the principles of a pure Christianity with the present social doctrine of their respective countries. The doctrinal "lacuna" in respect of work and certain ambiguous passages of the Scriptures facilitate this useful confusion. In pronouncing disinterested scientific criticism, however, the conclusion is inevitably reached that, even if in a less absolute manner than Buddha, Jesus rejected social differences, and hence the social division of labor. If all civilization is the offspring of an aristocracy, if all culture is the product of a division of labor more or less aristocratic, and if Jesus condemned all aristocracy and despised labor with human motives, it is clear that he tended to undermine civilization and culture with his ethical bases. He was a thousand times right when he exclaimed:

My kingdom is not of this world.⁷

In the true and primitive Christianity, there did not exist then, by reason of its rejection of the principle of work, what

might be called the *essential contradiction* of socialism, the inescapable antinomy of labor and equality.

To arrive at theoretical and moral equality, Jesus inverted human values. We read in the gospel of Mark:

And Jesus called them to him, and saith unto them: "Ye know that they which are accounted to rule over the Gentiles lord it over them; and their great ones exercise authority over them. But it is not so among you: but whosoever would become great among you, shall be your minister; and whosoever would be first among you, shall be servant of all."⁸

In other words, he who rules is morally equal or inferior to him who is under rule.

Not only did Jesus tend to transmute the value of rulership, but also, and as a consequence, the merit of force.

Resist not him that is evil; but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man would go to law with thee and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also.⁹

In this sufficiently graphic manner, Jesus teaches that, besides respecting every authority, however illegitimate it might be, one should suffer with resignation all insult. "Obey, suffer, señores Christians," he might have said to his proselytes; "but, ah! do not forget that you are better, infinitely better, than those who lord it over you and attack you, and if this satisfaction of your inner human vanity is not enough, remember, above all, that I shall reward you with usury, in the kingdom of my Father, for your proud humility and your agreeable sacrifices."

Every right is a power guaranteed by the force of society, and it has as its object the maintenance of social order; there is then, in law, an antithesis between the end, peace, and the means, force. Jesus reproved force and power, but he did not attack peace. Of the two terms of the antithesis, he condemned one and esteemed the other. So therefore, granted selfish human nature, how could peace be secured without employing force? By a supreme ideal of everlasting blessedness and an inferior ideal of human superiority.

⁶Matthew, 23:27.

⁷John, 18:36.

⁸Mark, 10:42-44.

⁹Matthew, 5:39-40.

Jesus did not recognize human law as legitimate and good, and at the same time he outlined a *divine law*, as the only good and legitimate one. This divine law is absolutely opposed to the historical, real, economic, biological, in short, the true law; it is an ideal unrealizable in the kingdom of men, and possible only in the hypothetical kingdom of God. Although not to be realized, in the absolute, such an ideal *can influence in human law*, it can moderate its asperities, weaken its sanctions, *point out to it a new course*. This new course is to be found in the equalitarian tendency of the Christian era.

6

THE EVOLUTION OF THE EQUALITARIAN
TENDENCY IN THE CHRISTIAN ERA

Christianity represents a kind of second florescence of Buddhism—its Western florescence. From Buddhism, Christianity drew the equalitarian movement of the Occident, that is, the age of culture in which we, the peoples of the white race, still live. It is not proper or interesting to discuss here whether Jesus was really the author of the new religion, or whether Paul, as some exegetes claim, giving to the "Son of God" an almost secondary place, as a simple antecedent. Jesus is for Europeans what Buddha is for Asiatics: a symbol. This is what it here concerns and interests us to know. The other is a question for the analysis of the learned, rather than a fundamental problem for historical synthesis.

Like Buddha, our Messiah was born at an opportune moment of history: at the beginning of the decline of the Roman empire. The Latins, after having imposed their hegemony upon the world, had declined. From Augustus onward, they fell more and more into decay. The caste or dominating elements, the citizens—patricians and plebeians—became organically inferior to the conquered peoples, especially to certain barbarous peoples of Europe. Even within the Italian peninsula itself, the Romans seem not to have retained their intellectual and moral superiority in respect of the tribes of the north, any more than the patricians did in relation to the plebeians. This inequality

was irritating, for it was no longer justified by effective specificity. Degeneration had inverted it.

All that humanity has written, from the invention of writing down to our century, would be too little to describe the extremely varied aspects and details of the equalitarian evolution during the Christian era. It would be a long story, consequently, to present a complete outline of the forms in which the equalitarian tendency has manifested itself in the great movements of Western civilization. Hence it is that I limit myself to presenting a rapid synthesis in the following paragraphs.

The charitable basis of medieval sentiments is very clear and marked, if it be compared with the old sentiments of pagan autocracy and imperialism. Although a period of struggle and violence, the middle ages contained the germs of the modern era. Therefore the Renaissance, the Reformation, the counter-Reformation and humanism involved tendencies more or less decidedly philanthropic and of a Christian philanthropism, that is, which differed from the Greco-Roman in a tacit recognition of the moral quality of all men, free or enslaved, masters or subjects. Nevertheless, only in the philosophy and in the "natural rights" of the eighteenth century did this inextinguishable philanthropic and equalitarian tendency come to adopt completely definite forms. These forms represented, first, a diffuse socialistic utopia, and afterward, a categorically democratic structure.

No historian has ever denied the equalitarian essence of the French revolution, that is, its idea of the equality of all men in political rights. There is more, however: neo-humanism and the French revolution contained virtually the present socialistic movement. The greater neo-humanists, like the more notable encyclopedists and materialists, sought principally the political liberty advocated by Diderot, D'Alembert, Holbach and, supremely, Rousseau. Along with these democrats there had already arisen a strong communistic current, of which Saint-Simon, Fourier and Proudhon were the most characteristic expressions. Studying the antecedents

of socialism, there are found in the writings of the promoters of the French revolution numerous doctrines and chimeras of universal communism.

No sooner was the revolution begun than it was considered a systematic attack upon all property. The expropriations of the estates of the nobles constituted a first step toward a possible democratic communism. The revolutionists proclaimed "liberty" and "equality:" "liberty," according to the understanding of all, consisted in the annihilation of the monarchical system; and "equality," in the minds of some, in the abolition of the system of property. These two forms did not present themselves, however, in a categorical and precise manner: they constituted conjointly and confusedly the revolutionary tendency. Therefore, from the first instant of the struggle, a very definite democratic concept and even the incorrect and indefinite communistic concept appeared sometimes together and at others separate and even opposed. To write the history of how the former came to dominate and obscure the latter would be to give a complete exposition of the revolution. It is sufficient for me therefore to recognize that the equalitarian tendency was, at the same time, political and economic. Why did the revolutionists content themselves with establishing democracy, without going as far as communism? In a broad and general way, it may be answered that, if everything was more or less partially prepared for the democratic forms, circumstances and minds were in no wise prepared for communism.

The establishment of a communistic regimen would imply, in case it were possible, very substantial conditions of culture and social cohesion, which the France of the end of the eighteenth century could not have possessed, and which, not even to-day, does any people possess. Hence may be observed the fundamental unpopularity of the "socialistic utopias;" and hence the reciprocal accusations that were made of each other by the revolutionary men and parties of wishing to destroy the system of property; for not even the most passionately innovating minds conceived the destruction of property to

be the indispensable social order, the corner-stone of the Rousseauian theory. Democracy was just, was easy, was possible, but what would happen to France when once all respect for the bourgeoisie and the people should have disappeared? Robespierre, Marat, Danton, Saint-Just, Mirabeau, all the revolutionary leaders, seemed to understand that the revolution would lose favor and become untenable, if the rights of property were absolutely abolished. The communistic conception did not assume definite forms among the middle class. On the contrary, what this class wished was to despoil the privileged classes of their wealth, in order to benefit exclusively by it, each one by the greatest portion of the general spoils that he could obtain. Such was the object of the famous bills of the "agrarian laws."

The real terrorists of Jacobinism were Robespierre and Saint-Just, whose ideas are not difficult to comprehend. According to them, individual property was not a primitive and original right, but rather one derived from institutions. Every citizen could dispose of the portion of goods the ownership of which the laws granted and guaranteed him. It was the right of every man that society and the state should provide only the indispensable, and the rest was susceptible of individual ownership. Although the state theoretically could reform the whole social system, it ought to abstain from such a reformation. Equality of possessions was considered impossible in a civilized society, and communism chimerical.

It was necessary, however, to combat the existing economic equality, which concentrated all the great social advantages in the hands of the selfish rich, to the prejudice of the poor. Civil and political equality diminished it. Besides, the state would assure to all the citizens their sustenance—provided they would work—by succoring the indigent, keeping wheat at a bearable price and multiplying the number of proprietors. A severe, progressive tax and supplementary rates would diminish the luxury of the wealthy, who would be restricted by laws regarding succession, and it might be necessary to go as far as to place a limit upon fortunes.¹⁰

¹⁰See A. Lichtenberg: *Le Socialisme et la Révolution française (L'Œuvre sociale de la Révolution française)*, Paris, page 85.

The Jacobin theory triumphed. There was political, although not economic, equality. Economic equality was impossible, and, on the other hand, the new régime, without going as far as communism, would effectively favor the condition of the poor and would hinder the excessive accumulation of riches. Nevertheless, the limitation of fortunes and the philanthropy of the state did not go so far as to constitute a positive fact, because the triumphant bourgeois did not permit it. It restricted, as far as possible, the meddling of the state in the distribution of property, and with progress in technique and the development of credit it concluded by setting up the present system of industrial capitalism.

It ought to be observed that when the revolution had once been accomplished, its equalitarian tendency found in itself an autonomic movement, inhibitive and conservative, in so far as it referred to the new bourgeois ownership. Lands being expropriated, the monarchy absolutely abolished, the people, the whole of society, sought stability for the democratic régime. Stability could not be found except in respect for the rights of patrimony, which the Napoleonic code was to establish a little later with solemn and detailed regulations.

The revolution being over, the inhibitory and conservative movement assumed forms more and more concrete, as may be seen in the works of Thiers and Taine. In Germany, the historic school of Savigny and Puchta set up, on its part, a dyke against the flood of Jacobinism and rationalism; and in England, the prudent and conservative spirit of the analytic school held back the revolution on the other side of the English channel.

7

CRITICISM OF THE DEMOCRATIC DOCTRINE

Of all the ideas of Kant, perhaps none has been so much attacked as his famous conception of the duality formed, on the one hand, by the world of pure reason, that of the noumenon and that of absolute liberty, set forth in his *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, and on the other, the world of phenomena, subjected to the determination of causes and effects, of which he

treats in his *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft*. It is said that between the two there is a contradiction so irreconcilable that it nullifies the unity and efficacy of the philosophical system of the great thinker of Königsberg. If pure reason and practical reason mutually destroyed each other, there would be no solution of the greatest metaphysical problems of the bond between the subjective and the objective, between the infinite and reality, between liberty and determinism. Nevertheless, in my opinion, the notion of this antinomic duality constitutes what is most profound and positive in the whole Kantian system, and it his greatest but not his only triumph. In truth, according to Kant, intuition does not yield in itself anything more than the knowledge of relative phenomena, and when it is desired to pass over these to the abstract noumenon, one falls into a very "vice of transition" or paralogism, which the philosopher denominates *amphibolia*, and which consists in confusing the transcendental with the empirical. Falling into this vice, earlier metaphysicians, especially the Cartesians, englobed within a single concept their *a priori* structures and realism known *a posteriori*. As they did not conceive of more than a subjectivo-objective world, their greatest fallacy consisted in subordinating more or less unconditionally the objective to the subjective. In this sense, the Kantian dualism implies a great step toward positive truth, as it disengages two orders of ideas, which formerly were almost always confused. Unfortunately, many philosophers subsequent to Kant have been wont to forget his sharp differentiation, thus being guilty of a genuine *amphibolia*.

In no one is the paralogism of *amphibolia* more evident than in Auguste Comte, the "father of positive philosophy." Studying at length the Comtian structure it may be seen without difficulty that in it there exist confusedly two perfectly separable halves. On the one hand, there is the analytic and materialistic perception of all human knowledge gathered in a single ample and complete whole: this constitutes, without doubt, the positive portion of the system; but, on the other

hand, Comte conceives of rationalistic democracy as a genuine human finality. Mankind passes successively through three states—the theological, the metaphysical and the positive—the last of which represents the desideratum of philosophy, the universal panacea of our thought and knowledge. Nothing less than this! It is well to reread his enthusiastic paragraphs upon the “already completed part of the French revolution” and upon the “rational and peaceful régime” toward which inevitably tends all human progress, in the “age of the generality.”

So be it then; his “age of generality,” in its juridico-political aspect, this peaceful and rationalistic régime, founded upon human equality (*sic*), involved a conception as metaphysical as or more so than that of the world of the noumenon, set forth in the *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*. If Comte had made a distinction, like Kant, between his noumenal world and the phenomenal world, his subjective cosmos and the objective cosmos, he would have discussed in the latter his very notable positive conceptions, by relegating to the former his finalistic ideas regarding liberty, democracy and generality. What is frank and bold antinomy in the one, is in the other diffuse and disguised contradiction. So, from this point of view, Kant is seen to be much more prudent, much truer, than Comte, and therefore, by virtue of the greater penetration of his genius, also more positive.

It is a very frequent and almost universal occurrence in the history of philosophy that, of the systems of the great philosophers, their century and their immediate times do not comprehend more than the secondary thoughts, and they despise the most novel and innovating idea. Only the tardy criticism of later days observes at times all that could not be comprehended before, and this too when the original works of the thinker have already become food for moth and dampness, as being “antiquated.” For the philosophy of Kant—like that of Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus and Vives¹¹—has been reserved

this fate, or rather, this glory. Being unaware or forgetful of the antinomy of the Kantian criticism, the positivist philosophers of the nineteenth century, disciples of Comte, have included very generally in a single conception, sufficiently confused, their subjective and noumenal world and the objective and phenomenal, and many not without making beforehand an irreverent grimace of disdain at the “metaphysics” and even the “scholastics” of Kant.

It would be interminable to analyze all the forms that have been assumed by the metaphysico-positivistic duality among the modern positivistic philosophers of the second and third rank. It is sufficient to establish the existence of the defect in Comte, the master and initiator, and then it can be readily assumed that it would be all the greater in his mediocre followers. Let it be understood that in this duality I do not include the materialistic monistic conception, although such a conception implies an hypothesis as transcendental as pure idealism. I do not include it, because, in reality, it does not in itself impair scientific positivism, to which, on the contrary, truly or falsely, it usually brings a proper spirit of prudence and analysis.

Some English thinkers, such as Hobbes, Locke, Bacon, Hume, Stuart Mill, Spencer, have reduced, each one in relation to his period, to a minimum and secondary quantity the subjective, noumenal and metaphysical portion of their theories, idealistic or materialistic. From this point of view, the Spencerian notion of the Unknowable is useful. It might be said that the excellent “sense of life” which the Anglo-Saxons manifest in the practical realm also passes over into their activities of a theoretical order, although their ideas are generally wanting in the grandeur offered by the speculations of the more profound continental philosophers.

In synthesis, the philosophical conception of democracy begins with a series of false hypotheses, like those of the social contract, originary individualism, popular sovereignty, etc., etc. These hypotheses were generated rather by certain ancient ideas and by a sentiment of protest and reaction against theological ab-

¹¹Juan Luis Vives, a celebrated Spanish scholar and philosopher (1492-1540), born in Valencia.—THE EDITOR.

solutism than by the frank and purely scientific analysis of social phenomena. The objective reality is therefore confused with subjective feelings; and biological and historical inequality, with human aspirations after a fantastic equality. Upon the existence of the paralogism rests essentially my argumentation against the philosophy of democracy.

This criticism does not imply an overlooking of the great services which the public and private *laws* of democracy have bestowed and continue to bestow upon humanity. More than any other, it tends, especially in its political phase—whenever the fallacies of the theory are not exaggerated in practice—to the continuous and peaceful renewal of the directive group, so that the more apt govern, and all criticize, the action of the state. Democracy, false as a philosophical conception, may be most acceptable in practice. Reducing the barriers that separate the social classes, it stimulates the most capable of the lower classes to the attainment of wealth and power. Hence the advantage of improving the government and that of quickening human activities.

Against these advantages exists the disadvantage that democracy is wont to deprive the state of the unity of action and stability indispensable for its work of preserving order and, above all, of developing culture. Democratic politics and rights are useful, as I have just said, as long as they do not exaggerate their fallacies. Such fallacies consist principally in the notion of absolute equality, in the contempt for tradition and in an anarchical and retrogressive individualism. Practice ought to reduce these to a minimum by fostering the natural development of intellectual inequalities, by recognizing the wholesome experiences of the historical past and by stimulating logical and fruitful associations. It is proper that the peoples recognize the utopian character of their laws in order that they may not waste their energies upon futile discussions about ideas as abstract as those of absolute equality and popular sovereignty, and, on the other hand, that they shall apply these laws to more achievable and productive ideals of well-being and greatness.

CRITICISM OF THE SOCIALISTIC DOCTRINE

I find in Karl Marx four generative conceptions or mother-ideas. The first of them consists in his theory of value as the result of labor; the second, the best known and vastest, in considering that all the juridical, political, moral and religious phenomena depend fundamentally upon the economic factor: that human evolution is fateful and obeys, first of all, moral causes. The third affirms that the basis of economic transformation rests upon the instrument of production: to each transformation of the instrument corresponds an economic situation, which, in turn, is the cause of all the social phenomenology. The instrument of production evolves without ceasing, and when it achieves new forms that do not coincide with the existing economic system, there breaks out a social struggle that destroys the now antiquated system in order to substitute for it a higher one. In this respect, consideration may be given to four periods in economic constitution: the Asiatic, the ancient, the medieval and the modern bourgeois. The age-long evolution of the productive instrument not having stopped at this last period, there is involved to-day a change in the economic situation: collectivism. This political tendency represents the fourth and last of the four great generative conceptions that constitute the Marxian doctrine.

The first three generative conceptions of Karl Marx may well be termed realistic and even true as long as they be not carried to an extreme with an exclusivist criticism. Unfortunately the "materialistic dialectics" of the school reaches this kind of criticism with deplorable frequency and intensity. Even casting aside the metaphysics of such a system and accepting the positive element of that which is basic, we observe that the fourth generative conception of the master has a still more marked metaphysical modality. In order better to comprehend these critical estimates, I proceed to analyze succinctly and in due order the four classical concepts that constitute Marxism. From my analysis, it will be seen, indeed, that between

the first three and the fourth exists a true paralogism of the kind that Kant termed *ambibolias*.

1. It can not be now denied that labor is a very important immediate cause of all value in barter. To this cause there must be added other causes not so immediate, but, in truth, not to be despised, which may be summarized as utility and scarcity.

Taken in an absolute sense, the Marxian equation of value seems to me to be unacceptable. In my opinion, the first and fundamental cause of value is *human specificity*. This is manifested in two ways: first, in the desire to acquire an object; and, second, in the difficulty of producing it. From this second point of view of production, treated by Marx with preference, it is worthy of note that specificity gives rise to "rights," that rights sanction the *division of labor*, that the division of labor determines the *labor of each*, and, finally, that the labor of each depends principally upon the *value of use and barter*. If I should wish to express this idea by a formula, using M for the value of use and barter of a certain merchandise, I should do it thus:

$$\frac{\text{Human specificity}}{\text{Rights}} = \frac{\text{Rights}}{\text{Division of Labor}} = \frac{\text{Division of Labor}}{\text{Individual labor}} = \frac{\text{Individual labor}}{M}$$

It may be said then that *human specificity is the first cause of every man's work*. In other words, *the value of the product depends in part upon the specific qualities of the worker who produces it*. A year's work of a Kant, a Beethoven, an Edison, a Sarmiento, a Benavente, is worth thousands and millions of years of the work of any laborer, and even of many laborers, and even of peoples, if such be Iroquois or Fuegians. If I suspected that my effort in writing this article were not worth more than the work done by my shoemaker, I should devote myself to making shoes. It would be proper to object that in the expression "value," I include not only the value of use and barter, but also the social utility. In fact, however, these three notions unite and separate in order again to unite and sepa-

rate indefinitely. What alone is positively true, in all the equations and theories of value, is, it seems to me, that *man values merchandise according to the pleasure it brings him and the difficulty of procuring it*. Nothing is more complex than this postulate. In one of its terms, in "pleasure," enter the most diverse and variable estimates; and in the other, in the "difficulty of procuring" the desired merchandize, intervene work, scarcity, supply and demand. Therefore this last term contains, as a principal element, the quality of the work, whose first cause depends upon the specific differences of the workers among themselves.

2. The truest and most scientific of the four conceptions of Marx is, without doubt, the second. I consider it undeniable that every juridico-political condition has as its antecedent an economic condition. I also consider it undeniable, however, that this economic condition, far from constituting a "terminal form," as Loria says, represents only an intermediary form between the first biological causes and the last two political and moral effects.¹²

3. Doubtless the transformation of the instrument of labor, that is, the advance made in technics, constitutes the immediate cause of all economic evolution. Under such an aspect, the Marxian theory is evidently true. I deem this third generative concept false only when it is supposed, by juggling perhaps the thought of Marx, that the instrument become transformed of itself, as it were, without responding to definite biological, philosophical or psychological antecedents.

The instruments of production, using the expression in the ample sense that Marx gives to it, are only technical forms, invented by human intelligence, according to its psycho-physical development, and the true cause of this development depends upon the laws of life. Therefore the productive instrument, instead of being the first cause, is merely a *result of the division of labor, produced by human specificity*, that is, by the struggle for existence in the human species or varieties. In a certain manner, rights and politics, in imposing and consecrating a certain

¹²See Bunge, *op. cit.*, volume 1, pages 158-159.

division of labor, are *prior* to it: they preëxisted, at least in their latent and tacit state, in specific differences not yet concentered. Let it be understood that what I term here "rights" and "politics" are simply vital reactions with ethical and juridical tendencies. It might therefore be said here that human evolution implies an endless chain of psycho-physical, economic and political factors that generate new and novel cycles of factors, once again psycho-physical, economic and political. The first link of the chain is wrought in the general principles of biology.

4. The most vulnerable part of the Marxian theory refers to the urgent propriety of transforming the present capitalistic régime into a communistic regimen. It is supposed that the ultimate metamorphosis of usuary capital into industrial capital and modern mechanism represent such a change in the instrument of production as to render a complete reformation of the politico-economical system indispensable: this reformation rests upon socialism. The Christian tendency, which was democratic in the French revolution, thus changes into a communistic one.

The equalitarian movement of our era has therefore passed through a series of layers: from Christ to Saint Augustine was the thaumaturgical layer; from Augustine to Voltaire, the theological one; from Voltaire to Kant, the metaphysical, romantic and rationalistic one; and from Kant onward is the metaphysico-positive layer. The thaumaturgical layer included Paul and the church fathers; the theological, Thomas Aquinas, the scholastics, the Reformation and the counter-Reformation; the romantic and rationalistic layer, the neo-humanism of the eighteenth century and the French revolution; and the metaphysico-positive one is substantially synthesized in socialism. From the point of view of his present efficacy, Marx might be considered more Christian than Paul and more romantic than Rousseau. The horizon overtops the collectivists and they are shut in by what is back of them, like a mountain, because they see it very near at hand; if they went further away to contemplate the panorama and if they should stand on a greater

eminence, they would obtain a bird's eye view, which is nothing more than the last summit of a cordillera that rises from Calvary, or rather from the Himalayas.

Metaphysics is the science of the absolute, that is, that which seeks absolute relations. Granted then; socialism, apart from its excellent economic investigations, is a metaphysical doctrine: first, because it is founded upon "materialistic dialectics;" and, second, because it holds that humanity ought to achieve a peaceful, stable and final organization. It is evident that I refer here to theoretical and systematic, and not to practical and political, socialism. The latter may be presented as the new form of the doctrine of popular government, a form often called "social democracy," rather than as a transcendental philosophy.

The absolute may be studied from two opposite points of view: the point of view of first causes and that of final causes. Theology and scholastics concern themselves by preference with the *causa causarum*, and socialism, which is certainly far more positive, has chiefly in view a supposed social finality. In the latter, its metaphysics is much less delirious than the rationalistic. If critical philosophy has been qualified as "drunk philosophy," the socialistic philosophy ought to be conceived of as a slumbering philosophy. Only a slumbering philosophy, in truth, can dream its beautiful dreams of human Arcadias! It is true that many socialists profess a certain "ingenuous realism," which does not properly represent a system of metaphysics, but a kind of fear of metaphysics. Those socialists are, however, doctrinally the least important, the spurious. The true, the genuine, are those who believe that future society will be organized in a form ideally "just" (*sic*), and that this form represents the *non plus ultra* of politics and institutions. Those who fear metaphysics so much are, it seems to me, more anarchistic, actually or latently, than socialistic. Marx and Engels have called their scheme of the economic interpretation of history "materialistic dialectics." They are right! Doctrinal socialism, that is, the original, the directive socialism, is nothing else . . .

and what is dialectics but the magic of metaphysical abstractions? What is materialism but a metaphysical hypothesis, the twin sister of idealism? This origin has been plainly recognized. It is known "that the two fathers of socialism," those who gave it character, "related with German philosophy its grandiose and fruitful conception of history." "Our German socialists," said Engels, in 1891, "pride ourselves upon being descended not only from Saint-Simon, Owen and Fourier, but also from Kant, Fichte and Hegel. The German labor movement is the inheritor of German classic philosophy." The disciples of these masters have followed their tradition. They still frequently apply the Hegelian dialectics and they often insert metaphysical generalizations in their discussions and even in the programs of their political party. They do not forget that socialism is, as it were, an immanent doctrine, applicable both to the Germans and to the Hottentots, when the latter succeed in becoming civilized.

Against such appeals to metaphysics, it may be objected, first, that they have been formulated only to give prestige to the new theory; second, that neither Marx nor Engels nor any of the great socialistic thinkers profess a definite metaphysical creed, because it can not be said that they are Kantians, Fichtians, Hegelians, or anything of this kind.

In respect of the first objection, I answer that it is absurd, anti-psychological, to fancy such a puerility in thinkers of lofty range; regarding the second, that, since metaphysical systems are somewhat like "reasoned sensations of the universe," there can not, in reality, be two wholly equal metaphysicians, as there have never been two entirely identical brains. To no one better than to metaphysicians could be applied the saying that "to comprehend is to equal." To comprehend an invented metaphysical system is, indeed, almost to invent a new one. Therefore it might be believed that Marx, perhaps the most original of the metaphysicians, is "a Hegel reversed." In the preface to the second edition of *Das Kapital*, Marx says:

mentally from that of Hegel, but it is directly opposed to it. According to Hegel, the mental process, of which he goes so far as to make an independent subject under the name of idea, is the demiurge of the reality, of which it is only an inner manifestation. For me, on the contrary, the ideal is nothing more than the material, transposed and interpreted in the brain of man.

Frequently it is observed that certain passages of Marx, and even of Lasalle and other socialists, are written directly, and not inadvertently, in the "metaphysical style." This argument regarding accidental forms seems to me of slight importance. Such forms may signify an involuntary imitation on the part of those who received the education imparted in a certain period. The foundation is what is of importance, and, in regard to the foundation, no more is required than the theory set forth, which can be developed in long and erudite disquisitions.

To conclude by summarizing what goes before, I maintain that, like the philosophy of Kant, that of Comte and that of almost all the philosophers, whether idealists or positivists, the theorizings of Marx present two parts or phases: realistic observation and metaphysical observation. To positive observation belong, with the exception of a certain finalistic dialecticism that vitiates and exaggerates them somewhat fallaciously, their conceptions of the value of the economic antecedents of politics and of the importance of the instrument of production in economic evolution. To metaphysical idealization, more than to his dialectics, is due his fourth generative concept, that is, his socialistic doctrine properly so-called. So, instead of separating the affective and intuitive abstractions, on the one hand, and the scientific phenomenology on the other, in the manner advocated if not always realized by Kant, Marx is guilty of the "vice of transition" or the paralogism of *amphibolia* by including the two forms or phases, like Kant, in a single social and political conception. Also it is to be noted that this *essential contradiction* of socialism, that this irrefutable socialistic error, assumes, among the followers and successors of the master, more crude and absurd forms, like the

* My dialectic method not only differs funda-

idea of the "limic-concept" of economics, which is maintained, contrary to all scientific evidence, nevertheless, by so notable a socialist as Achilles Loria.¹³

PRINCIPAL WORKS OF CARLOS OCTAVIO BUNGE

El federalismo, Buenos Aires, 1897: his thesis, and usually considered to be his first publication, although he had already published *Ensayos efímeros*, verses, and *Mi amigo Luis*, a novel.

La educación, Buenos Aires, 1901: this work was first published under the title *El espíritu de la educación*, and it went through several editions, being emended and much enlarged, and being published under various titles.

Nuestra América, Barcelona, 1903: a second edition was published in Buenos Aires, 1905, and a third, in Buenos Aires, 1911.

La novela de la sangre: the first edition was published in Madrid, 1903, the second in Buenos Aires, 1904; a popular edition was published in Valencia, Spain, without date, but doubtless in 1903 or 1904; a fourth edition was published in Valencia, 1907.

Principios de psicología individual y social, Madrid, 1903: this work was translated into French and published in Paris, 1903, with the title *Principes de psychologie individuelle et sociale*.

Xarcas silenciario, Barcelona, 1903: a novel.

Los colegas, Buenos Aires, 1909, after

¹³See A. Loria: *Le basi economiche della costituzione sociale*, fourth edition, 1913.

being previously published in three numbers of the magazine *Nosotros*, May, June and July, 1908: a drama in four acts.

El derecho, Buenos Aires, 1905, with the title *Teoría del derecho: principios de sociología jurídica*: a second edition was published in Buenos Aires, 1907, with the title *El derecho*; third and fourth editions were published in Buenos Aires, 1909, and 1915 and 1916, the latter of these being in two volumes; the third edition was translated into Italian and French, the former being published in Torino, 1909, and the latter in Paris, 1910.

Thespis, Buenos Aires, 1907: short stories.

Viaje a través de la estirpe y otras narraciones, Buenos Aires, 1908: historical and philosophical essays and allegorical stories.

Historia del derecho argentino, Buenos Aires, 1912 and 1913, in two volumes.

Caso de quiebra fraudulenta, Buenos Aires, 1913: a court decision.

El derecho de la literatura gauchesca, Buenos Aires, 1913: a discourse pronounced upon being received as an academician of the Facultad de Filosofía y Letras.

La actual crisis de los estudios jurídicos. Buenos Aires, 1913: a discourse pronounced upon being received as an academician of the Facultad de Derecho.

Vicente G. Quesada, breve estudio biográfico y crítico, Buenos Aires, 1915.

Doctor Bunge published a vast number of newspaper and review articles, many of which have not been gathered in book form, and he left numerous unpublished works, some of which had not reached completion.



THE BOMBARDMENT OF PARIS AND THE EXTRAORDINARY CANNON

BY

ANTONIO BEINGOLEA

With a sincere appreciation of the motives that impel the nations that are now combating Teutonic frightfulness, the author observes and writes impersonally, as a scientist, regarding the dramatic invention that so much startled the world during the past summer. Although as far removed from the scene as Perú, and depending entirely upon the press reports and his constructive imagination, he has produced a study that will interest, even if at present we have access to facts that were denied him while he was working out his theory. The comparison between the bombardment of 1918 and that of 1871 is significant.—THE EDITOR.

MUCH has been said about the cannon that for a month has been bombarding the "fort" of Paris. The extraordinary fact could only awaken the most lively interest among professional men and a disturbing curiosity, more than anything else, among laymen.

Unquestionably we are in the presence of a prodigy of ballistics, a genuine *tour de force* of mechanics, the product of much study, patient reflection, enormous labor; in short . . . the simple truth reminds us of Jules Verne, narrating entertainingly his trip to the moon, or rather when he causes a certain German to construct an enormous cannon that is to bombard the hated Libreville. . . . In reality the great novelist was not far wrong, because the manufacture of a monstrous cannon is not, as has been seen, among impossibilities.

The investigations that have been published and known hitherto view the problem of long range under two aspects: one of them depending upon the piece itself—the cannon—and the other residing in the projectile alone, without changing the normal characteristics of the gun.

Regarding the first of these, it is known that in 1888 there was constructed in England, in honor of Queen Victoria, the famous cannon known as the "Jubilee 9.2 Inch Wire Gun," of 230 millimeters, with a partial jacket of steel. This cannon fired two shots, its projectiles covering a maximum distance of 19,934 meters. It was said then that its maximum ordinate

(the vertex of the trajectory) attained more than 5,000 meters, and that the duration of the trajectory was 69.6 seconds.

The Yankees have recently constructed for the forts of the Panamá canal a cannon of 406 millimeters, whose barrel has a length of 21 meters; it weighs 154 tons and discharges a projectile of 1,088 kilograms, with an initial velocity of 823 meters. At an angle of 45 degrees, it carries 44,000 meters. In this case, the maximum ordinate is 13,441 meters, that is, an altitude twice as great as that of Huascarán. This cannon, in battery at Milwaukee, could bombard Chicago, perforating at any point of the trajectory a plate of armor 30 centimeters in thickness.

In France, the Schneider establishment obtained, long before the war, initial velocities of 1,200 meters, with guns of 10 centimeters, the length of the tube being 12 meters. Also study has been made in this country of the projectile called "*Figogne*," and of the special preparation that enables the projectile to travel through a relative vacuum created artificially in its flight. A projectile that does not have to overcome the resistance of the air will have three or four times as great a range as one in ordinary conditions. It is said that the learned Frenchman Chilowski has been and is at present occupied with this invention, and that he has succeeded in increasing the range from 50 to 90 per cent., with projectiles of 37 millimeters.

Many countries have engaged in the construction of cannon of two or three

times as great a range as that which is ordinarily considered attainable in practice, but it was reserved for the Germans to clear the difficult path from theory to practice, during the last two years, by bombarding Dunkirk with a marine gun of 380 millimeters, whose projectile covered a distance of 38,000 meters. This cannon measures 50 calibers (the length of the barrel being 20 meters), and it discharges a projectile of 760 kilograms, with an initial velocity of 940 meters, and the driving charge, composed of smokeless powder, weighs 315 kilograms. Such is the famous cannon that has bombarded Dunkirk, and that has been christened by the French with the good name of "la grosse Berthe," in allusion to Bertha Krupp.

PROBABLE UBICATION

The cannon that are bombarding Paris at present are judged to be located in the neighborhood of Laon, and it seems, from the investigations made, that they are at a point about 1,500 meters northwest of Crepy-en-Laonnois, in an opening formed by the small knoll of the Joie, whose greatest height is 91 meters. This little protuberance contains a sort of dell or cave facing Crepy-en-Laonnois. Within this, upon the counter slopes of the summit, at the verteces of triangles whose sides are from 800 to 900 meters in length, the guns are probably to be found. It should be noted that the distance in a straight line that separates Crepy-en-Laonnois from Paris is 120 kilometers, which means, admitting that the cannon are of 240 millimeters, the range hitherto achieved by guns of this caliber has been tripled. It is proper therefore to ask this question: Have we to deal with a new cannon or is it perhaps a new projectile that has accomplished the marvel?

THE HYPOTHESES

Long range artillery has been much perfected during the present war. The classic methods have been notably developed in the following directions:

1. The length of the tube.
2. The employment of more progressive and powerful powders.

3. The improvement of the form of the projectile, and a more complete stability in order to give to it a well balanced rotation upon itself and one better adapted to the initial velocity of the projectile. To these procedures are to be added others of a very different nature, and of which nothing is known concretely, but it is possible to infer that with the aggregation of them the range may be perceptibly increased.

How could the velocity of the projectile be maintained when once it has left the cannon?

By means of the fuses employed in fireworks? By the agency of propulsive contrivances whose own impulse might be communicated to a scheme capable of imparting new momentum? This would be nothing more than an ingenious improvement of fuses such as those used in "Roman candles," in which it is seen that part of the force produced by the explosive is utilized to give and sustain the impulse of the mechanism. This form of utilizing driving power has been the object of investigations for a long time, and the French general André has made many serious studies regarding it. The distinguished artillery officer of that valiant army says that in this case the system might be designed in the following manner:

1. A cannon of 230 millimeters (0.240, of very exact make, and rifled).
2. An initial driving charge.
3. A time fuse adapted to the force of the projectile.
4. A rifled cannon-ball of 210 millimeters caliber, loaded with high explosive and provided with a percussion fuse in the *ogive*.

This supposition is based upon the observations made by the artillery officers who recorded upon the range chart, at more or less two-thirds of the probable distance, a detonation attributed to the projectile, it being concluded that this intermediate detonation could only be produced by a discharge from a part of the projectile at a mathematically determined point of the trajectory. In this case, the angle of fire or of departure from the gun may be estimated at 60 degrees, and that of the descent at 80. Only one

point leaves us in perplexity, and it is that of the adaptation to the *culote* of the time fuse that is to fire a second charge exactly at the vertex of the trajectory. A cannon without recoil, such as has been suggested by certain inventors, arranged properly for firing from a Zeppelin at a great height, is out of keeping with the remarkable precision of the shot, in the same way as the foregoing supposition.

If, instead of employing steel in the manufacture of the projectile, recourse should be had to tungsten, for example, whose density is slightly greater than that of platinum, and three and a half times greater than that of iron, the question of the projectile would assume a different aspect. This substitute would perhaps lengthen the trajectory in proportion to the density. One of the elements of the range of a projectile consists in the resistance of the air; therefore, with an equal weight there would be obtained a projectile whose diameter would be reduced by half. Let us, however, examine things under another aspect. Suppose we take a "light" projectile and a "heavy" one: the former with a given charge will acquire an initial velocity greater than the heavy one of the same caliber, but the latter retains its velocity longer. At a certain point of the trajectory the velocity of the heavy projectile will be greater than that of the light one. Under these circumstances, a heavy projectile has a greater range than a light one, because it meets less resistance from the air. Indeed, if we compare two similar projectiles, of like form but of different caliber—for example, a 75 with a 150—it will be seen that the latter is twice as long and eight times as heavy as the former, but it has a vertical section hardly four times greater, which means that it will encounter a resistance also four times greater, while being eight times heavier.

In the heavy projectile, the retardation would be much less perceptible, for the same reason that the action of a current of air is much less effective upon a lead bullet than upon a rubber bullet. It is conceivable then that at an equal velocity the longer projectile will have a greater range.

CHARACTERISTICS

Everything indicates that the characteristics of the long range gun are as follows: the very usual caliber of 240 millimeters, like that of our batteries at Callao. The length of the barrel ought to be possibly from 25 to 30 meters, in order to obtain a range of from 100 to 120 kilometers. With an initial velocity of 950 meters, its projectiles would reach an object situated at 90 kilometers; with one of 1,000 meters per second, it would go as far as 105 kilometers. The system of firing would be by electricity and therefore the servers could be under shelter at a great distance from the gun. The cannon would be discharged upon a fixed platform of asphalt, as it would not be possible for it to fire either upon wheels or upon rails.

Photographs taken from aeroplanes, and data gathered from German prisoners, coincide with the location and with the characteristics enumerated, in spite of the fact that the Germans have used great precautions not to disclose their cannon, shielding them from flank fire and protecting them by means of numerous anti-aircraft batteries and disguising the discharges with a dense smoke that forms clouds too impenetrable for exact observation. On this last account it is said that they do not fire at night, in order that the flash produced by the explosive may not reveal the emplacements.

By examination of the fragments of a projectile picked up in Paris, the following may be reconstructed: it is of extra hard steel, and its weight is from 150 to 200 kilograms. The chamber for the explosive could hardly contain more than 20 to 30 kilograms of explosive (Trotyl?); the rest of the volume is occupied by the walls, which are of a thickness of from 4 to 5 centimeters. Its true caliber is not 240 but 210 millimeters. A false, supplementary *ogive* of sheet iron, 0.40 centimeters in length, caps the tip of the projectile, thus forming a wind-cutter. The total length is approximately 90 centimeters. The duration of the trajectory is 183 seconds, and it descends at an angle of 80 degrees, that is, like a bomb thrown from a *Gotha* at full speed. The projectiles

have engraved upon them the German imperial crown, with the letter *M* (imperial marine), which signifies that they were manufactured in Germany and not in the Austrian establishment of Skoda, as has been asserted.

Thus far we have based our summary upon the possible hypotheses; let us now compare the effects of a material character obtained, with those that history recorded forty-four years ago, when Paris was shaken on another occasion by the shock of heavy cannon, also German.

THE BOMBARDMENT OF 1871

Paris was then surrounded, and twenty redoubts, with numerous batteries, encircled the city. Krupp cannon of 120 were fired throughout the night and even throughout the day. At present the projectiles of 210 fall in open day; with very rare exceptions, the "falls" are observed between seven in the morning and seven at night.

The first batteries were placed on the plateau of Chatillon, on the night of January 5; others were set up at Meudon, the noise of the cannon extending successively during other days to Thiais, Hay, Breteuil, Clamart, Bagneux, Montmesly (on the road to Lyons), Deuil, Montmorency, La Butte Pinson, between Stain and Saint Denis, the neck of Montretout, the plateau of Avron Billetaneuse, etc. Finally, flying batteries took position on the twenty-fifth very near the outposts. On the morning of the twenty-seventh, there was silence after twenty-two days of a bombardment that had scattered grape-shot all along the left bank of the Seine. Many Parisian edifices were struck by the German projectiles, especially churches, libraries, schools and hospitals. During the whole period of the bombardment, grenades fell in profusion upon Paris. An idea of the situation can be formed from the following figures: at the beginning of the night of the seventh and eighth there were counted 120 projectiles

an hour; on the following night, that between the eighth and ninth, there were 900 discharges of cannon; on the night of the ninth and tenth, more than 300, and 100 between two and five; on the night between the fourteenth and fifteenth, more than 500, and between the fifteenth and sixteenth, 294; on the night of the sixteenth and seventeenth, 189; on the night of the twentieth, more than 200; on the twenty-second, 120; on the twenty-third, 128; on the twenty-fourth, no more than 29 fell upon the asylum of Sainte Anne; on the twenty-seventh, 137 on the left bank. Therefore, in spite of the fall at that time upon Paris of so many projectiles, which destroyed or damaged more than 1,200 houses, the number of victims was quite small (105 killed, 369 wounded), due to the fact that the population was divided into two parts, one of which moved to the right bank of the Seine, while the other found refuge in the "caves" of the houses. The vaults of the cemetery in particular were occupied by a considerable number of people who led the life of troglodytes during those tragic days.

So then the number of victims made recently in Paris by the mysterious cannon is relatively smaller than that of the bombardment of '71 during a period somewhat longer. Let us note, however, that a single projectile falling upon a multitude assembled in a church, killed 75 and wounded 90 persons, that is, 165 victims at a single blow.

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE LONG RANGE CANNON

It can not be said that the bombardment of Paris has had any great material effect, however portentous the invention, for it can not be considered, in view of the greater or less number of victims caused in Paris, that the effect serves any purpose, inasmuch as not even are losses along the battle front prevented by means of them; nor have these cannon any great importance by the application of the principle of the economy of forces.

CARLOS GUIDO Y SPANO

BY

RICARDO ROJAS

On September 24, 1918, there was a gathering, in the Facultad de Filosofía y Letras of the Universidad de Buenos Aires, of eminent admirers of the poet, and after an introductory address by the dean of the Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Doctor Norberto Piñero, Professor Rojas made a memorial address upon Guido y Spano, of which the following excerpts were published, with interlarded comment, in *La Nación*.—THE EDITOR.

A GREEK epitaph, rescued among the anonymous flowers of the *Anthology*, says, regarding the tomb of Orpheus, that at the death of the marvelous poet the serene muses of harmony and the impassive Apollo of the oracles shed torrents of tears; and the oaks and rocks that the dead poet made sentient with the accents of his lyre joined in the funeral chorus with cries of anguish. Then it was that the women of Thrace, their fair hair covered with ashes, reddened with blood their arms torn in desperation.

I bring this recollection to your memory, in order to suggest, as at the obsequies of the eighteenth century, by happy rhetorical means, the ingenuousness of a generous emotion. I bring it—precisely in order to confess that the death of Guido—whom we gather to honor in the ceremony of this afternoon—awakens in us a spiritual state very different from that described by the ancient epigram. Not on this account is our serenity to be less classic in the presence of his death, which thus prolongs, in the posthumous tribute to glory, the Anacreontic joys of his existence, the Hellenic clarity of his song, the pagan sweetness of his old age, the stoic passing of his agony.

In judging of Guido, his critics have agreed upon the reminiscence in him of Greek art; but if there be truth in this agreement, it is proper to say that his

muse was not the cosmogonic muse of Hesiod, nor the heroic muse of Homer, nor the tragic muse of Aeschylus, all three still agitated by the awe of the primitive ages. Nor was it the author of the Athenian apogee, whose southern light reflected "the clear eyes of the eponymous goddess" who crowned the Parthenon, marking the hour of the definitive miracle, near the glaucous waters of the Ægean Sea. His was the muse of the later days: that of the lesser lyrics—of Anacreon, Theocritus and Meleager—the one that, in the fruitful islands and the wise cities, enjoyed the earth and the spirit, without sorrowful abnegation in the esthetic mystery, without deep concern in the human mystery.

It is because that luminous flight of the Greek genius, whose light still illuminates us, has a dawn of purple violet, like a summer aurora, in his cosmogonic myths and his sounding epics, where Hercules, Prometheus and Achilles brandished the civilizing force: lance, club or torch. He had afterward his Apollonian plenitude of the golden age, which is a spring midday, in the archetype of Sophocles, Pericles and Plato, harmonious and human. Finally he had his decline, like the autumn sunset, when the flush of dawn turned violet in the twilight glow and the voluptuous tint of the stellar opals seemed to inspire the refined product of decadence. If in our poet there subsisted somewhat of the ancient genius, it was a reflection that came to him from that pensive star of the Greek evening.

This is a truth that Guido himself recognized, when, writing to Andrade regarding *Prometeo*, he confessed his perturbation in the presence of the tragic numen, accepting that "as they say about here, the climate of the stormy eminences

¹He was born in Buenos Aires, January 19, 1827, and he spent the years of his youth in Brazil, where his father, General Tomás Guido, represented Argentina as minister; he then traveled in Europe, later returning to Rio de Janeiro, and once again to Europe, to spend some time in London and Paris. After the fall of the tyrant Rosas, he returned to Argentina, and since then he has been a notable figure, of the Whitman type, in the literary life of his country.—THE EDITOR.

does not suit my temperament." He declared then his horror of the heights, that he did not believe them to be the permanent seat even of genius, and he loitered with watchful irony, saying that he preferred to descend to rest beneath the palm of Zoroaster or in the hut of Evander. So, when memory brought him, as in that confidence, recollections of universal readings, his temperament preferred, from the Virgilian poem, the tent where the wandering *Aeneas*² reposed, and, from the Zoroastrian cosmogony, the palm of golden dates. A Greek he was, yet not a Greek of Attica, but of the Hellenized islands or the Alexandrian lands.

Within these limitations, Guido succeeded once, more than at other times, in revealing his authentic profane emotion. I refer to the poem entitled, *Myrta en el baño* in which feminine nakedness appears painted objectively with the most pure esthetic ecstasy. The theme of a virgin surprised naked in the diaphanous waters of a fountain, spied upon by a satyr—or may be by a man—in the wood, was a commonplace of classic poetry, from the myths of Diana and the songs of Ovid:

*Sicut erant, viso nudae sua pectore Nymphoe-
Percussore viro.*³

In the bath of Myrta, however, her nakedness was not stained by the desire of man, nor were there at hand the twenty greyhounds with sharp teeth and beautiful names that sundered Actaeon, transformed by the goddess into a stag. All this belongs to the metamorphoses and violences of the primitive imagination, which did not seduce our poet. With him, the instinct of sex, which is in the flesh, lies mastered in the sentiment of the beautiful, a gift of the spirit. So Guido describes the episode in an environment of absolute serenity.⁴

He succeeded in harmonizing in his best poems the intimacy of emotion with the subtlety of decorative detail. Whether it was in the fusion of the plastic with the musical he achieved a difficult beauty, he

found without effort the new theme and the confidential semitone in the lyric. In what these poems possess that is characteristic, they do not recognize any precedents in American letters, nor even in those of Spain. The apparent triviality of his poetry contained a lesson of grace and culture, necessary for the civilization of new peoples. A stranger to the culturistic tradition of the colonial Parnassuses, which had heard Terrazas in México, Tejeda in Argentina, Oña in Chile, Bar-nuevo in Perú; a stranger likewise to the military and militant epic of the emancipative cycle, which blew on its martial trumpets the pseudo-classic ode in the manner of the Argentine Luca, the celebrator of San Martín, or of the Ecuadorian Olmedo, the celebrator of Bolívar; a stranger finally to the romantic ecstasy that Echeverría brought from France to the río de la Plata, thus imparting to the new American generation a taste for the wracking plaint, the melodramatic arguments, the vast decorative frescoes—like the pampa of *La cautiva*—as a background of their versified narratives, Guido rises after Labardén, Varela and Mármol, and he is, nevertheless, different from all of them. He is not only different, but superior, as he possesses a more refined sensibility and a more reflecting art. Guido anticipated in his virtues the modernist revolution that was to flourish twenty years later. Perhaps his appearance was premature with relation to his environment. Perhaps he was the precursor whose sacrifice was necessary for the new creeds. At all events, he was a spontaneous innovator: an innovator without a school and without a doctrine.

His doctrine was to declare itself some lusters later, in the old *Ateneo*, where Rubén Darío ruled. The school was formed under his name; but the modernists never overlooked the lyric patriarchy of our precursor. Rubén came from Chile, and he brought as annunciatory heralds the nightingales of France, singing in his *Azul*. The two poets recognized each other at once, as exiles that speak the same language. Rubén saluted Guido, and Guido answered him with the sonnet that begins:

²*Aeneid*: VIII.

³Book III, 2.

⁴The lecturer here read the poem, *Myrta en el baño*, through.—THE EDITOR.

¡Es él! Rubén, el trovador galano,
in which he ends by defining him:

¡Oh juventud! le atrae radioso el Pindo.
La ruta emprende cuando el alba asoma.
Al rosado esplendor, ¿quién no lo admira?
Del Rajá en la galera surca el Indo;
Canta de Gracia, se enguinalda en Roma,
Y con *maiten*⁵ de Arauco orna su lira.⁶

As insults had sprung up from everywhere against the wanderer, Rubén did not forget the grand old man, whose name he repeats in his prose and his verse, and whom he visited every time he returned to our country. I still remember a night at Breña, where we were summering together facing the sea. I said to Darío that Buenos Aires was not a beautiful city. He replied to my reasons with this reason:

It may be; but you have in it that marvelous spectacle that is called Guido y Spano.

Why should not the author of *Prosas profanas* feel thus, if he was a child of Nicaragua who was hardly essaying his *Primeras notas*, puerile and threadbare, when Guido had already made himself independent of the evil lyric tradition of Spain and America; and why should not the author of *Los raros* feel thus, if Guido was "one of the rare" also, because of the romantic beauty of his life and because of the classic conception of his art? He was now no longer the political poet of the American republics; neither was he the baritone in the great orchestra of romanticism; nor was he the local colorist. A patrician of America in his sentiment and a citizen of the world in his culture, pagan and spiritualistic, Bohemian and aristocratic at the same time, Guido was the first renewer of themes and emotions in the lyrics of our language. He did not come from a Tuscan Garcilaso, nor from a Christian León, nor from an obscure Góngora, nor from a Latinizing Quevedo, nor from an emphatic Herrera, nor from

a rhetorical Quintana. In him began the short poem, in which he unites the grace of rhythm and rime, the subtle decoration of the adjective and the elegant trope, the proportion of form and subject, the intimate emotion and vision of places. He was a sincere poet, at the same time as a conscientious artist. He believed in inspiration, but he had faith in the *file*.⁷

He observed the traditional purity of the language, but he did not tie himself to archaic forms. He used it as a musician employs notes, a sculptor clay, or a painter, the palette—as the docile instrument of self-expression. He knew that culture is not merely erudition, but also refinement of the moral and esthetic sensibility. So he renewed in America the cultivation of the sonnet, previously little or badly versified in our countries, or forgotten beneath the age-long inundation of epic octaves, odes, *silvas*⁸ and hymns.

Recall, señores, that he did all this in Buenos Aires, when our city was a village, when the Indians of Catriel still rode their horses through the Tandil, and the mountaineers of López Jordán through Entre Ríos, and when, in the rest of America, essay had not been made of the new song by the Cuban Casal, the Colombian Silva or the Mexican Nájera, also admirable precursors of our modern lyrics. Singular has been his work, because of its earliness, and beautiful even in death his long life. We do right in holding here this civil memorial service, for if he was not the product of this university, he incarnated that type of fineness and tolerance which the university aspires to create. The Academia de Letras adopted him as its own; thus showing that these institutions do not desire to divorce themselves from life. To his memory then must be dear this ceremony, celebrated in the building where daily we render worship to the age-long archetypes of beauty, which

⁵A Chilean tree of evergreen foliage.—THE EDITOR.

⁶'Tis he! Rubén, the gallant troubadour,

O youth! the radiant Pindus draws him.
He begins his journey when the dawn uprises.
The rosy splendor, who will not admire it?
He plows the Indus in the rajah's galley;
He sings of Greece, in Rome he crowns his forehead;
He trims his lyre with *maiten* of Arauco.—THE EDITOR.

⁷*Lima* in the original: *lima*, file, and the verb *limar*, to file, are used figuratively with reference to a literary composition, in the sense of polishing, to polish.—THE EDITOR.

⁸The *silva* is a metrical combination in which there is an alternation between hendecasyllabic and heptasyllabic verses, with freedom in the use of occasional unrimed verses of either of these forms, while the rest make consonance according to the fancy of the writer.—THE EDITOR.

are our recollection, and to the pure archetypes of nationality, which are our hope.

As for myself, who have come to this spot inspired by the same ideals as those of the illustrious dead, let me give utterance to the personal note which the Ciceronian counsel ordains shall be put in the exordium, and which the modesty of my own humility has been restraining during the whole course of this address. Why should I not remember—even when I recognize that I am lacking in merits—why should not I remember, señores, that he has left written, with too much praise, as I see it, the first words that saluted my first verses? His were the ones that augured to me, with patriarchal accents, success in the difficult path of art, when I, still a child, began to sing. What could I, now, from this place of honor, now, “in the middle of the way of life,” desire for the noble old man who has finished the long journey, if not happiness for his spirit and immortality for his songs? The fire of love illuminates me when I approach his work, as the fire of life blazes in me when I draw near his life. It pleases me to imagine him there in the Champs Elysées, with his voluminous garb and his crown of laurel, moving to the harmonious sound of the lyre, along the path of the celestial asphodels; the muse accompanies him, dressed in a white pepulum of thin linen, and in the distance arises, in the roseate light, a portico of marble.

It is time, however, to abandon these sweet imaginings. His remains rest in the familiar hermitage wrapped with ivy, which he himself erected from rustic stones for the ashes of his father. On the day that we buried him, I thought that his epitaph could not be that of Orpheus which I recalled at the beginning. Orpheus was the bard of the mythical ages, for whom had not yet been lost the musical key of the human word, whose potency is divine, like the cosmogonic harmony that ordains the rhythm of the worlds. The elements obeyed that song, and his was the same secret which, in another Aryan legend and in another form of the heroic plenitude, Siegfried would find again when, in slaying the dragon conquered by him, and staining himself in its blood, he would comprehend what the birds of the forest uttered in their song. Another is the spiritual primogeniture of Guido y Spano, and it is in the same pages of the Greek *Anthology*, which he loved so much, that his posthumous motto is written, in the epitaph that Antipater of Sidon composed for the tomb of Anacreon:

That about thy sepulcher the vine may wrap its bunches and its shoots; that the flowers of the meadows may open above it their purple chalices; that a fountain of white milk may flow from the earth; that wine may sprinkle its sweet perfume for the delight of thy ashes, if it be that any joy exists for the dead, O dear poet, who hast tenderly loved the lyre and who hast crossed the ocean of existence with the gifts of song and love!



PERUVIAN ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

BY

CARLOS LEDGARD

For a number of years, prior to 1914, Perú not only had maintained the gold standard, but it had gone to the extreme of limiting its circulating medium entirely to gold and silver coin. The author wholly condemns that policy, and he indicates how, when the outbreak of the war disturbed international finance, it became necessary for Perú to resort to a makeshift paper circulating medium, in order to protect her reserves of coin; he then shows that a sound monetary system may be maintained while using both paper and coin as a circulating medium, he calls attention to the fact that the prosperity of nations does not depend upon a metallic standard, and he expresses approval of the federal reserve law and system of the United States, at the same time urging his own country to make proper monetary provision for the future.—THE EDITOR.

FROM the adoption of the plausible but incomplete monetary reform by which the gold standard was set up in our country, to the beginning of the European war in 1914, we have lived steeped in a barren financial and economic routinism, in which there have been no other occurrences worthy of mention except an occasional law to increase the taxes, in spite of which we have not been saved from periodical stringencies in the national treasury.

The exclusive circulation of coin produced among us a curious psychological phenomenon of economic *panglossism*.¹ We were the only civilized country in the world that had no bills or notes of the exchequer, either of government banks of issue or of private banks; and we lived proud and vain over our monetary system, in which we beheld the symbol of national prosperity and the crystallization of the soundest economic principles. Nothing equaled our happiness when we thrust our hands into our pockets and jingled *palpably* our coins that lay at the bottom of them. They were not many, those coins, for the difficulty of earning them did not permit us to possess them in abundance; but they were of hard gold, yellow, shining, *physical*, as we were wont to say in those days, in order to distinguish it absolutely from some other ethereal and impalpable gold, composed, doubtless, by mysterious alchemists, with a view to deceiving honorable and simple souls.

¹From *panglossismo*, a word evidently created by the author, with the obvious meaning: of all-tonguedness.—THE EDITOR.

Not to the gold standard in itself, not to the possession of sound money, but to the exclusive metallic circulating medium were attributed the rarest virtues. We believed it meant a check on governments and an assurance of such a nature for capital that, whatever the occurrences that might affect the economic life of the country, and even if the greatest cataclysm should overwhelm it, this capital would come off untouched, by virtue of the metallic circulating medium.

We were proud to say to strangers who visited us that nothing but coin circulated here, and to give the impression that at any moment we could renew the effort of Atahualpa.²

Satisfied with our perfection, we looked loftily over our shoulders at the neighboring countries, which had not achieved the desideratum of an exclusively metallic circulating medium, while disdaining, on the other hand, to investigate the causes of the strange aberration that, in spite of this fact, the other countries had a greater foreign immigration than our country and also that thousands of our compatriots emigrate to them and renounce the advantage of earning physical gold here, in order to earn paper money in them. We did not observe, either, that the rapidity of the economic development of nearly all the rest of the South American countries was greater than ours, and

²Atahualpa or Atabalipa, the last Inca of Perú, the bastard son of the Inca Huaina Capac and the princess Paccha, heiress to the kingdom of Quito: he was strangled by order of Pizarro in 1533; the allusion is evidently to the huge sum of gold which, according to tradition, Atahualpa was forced to give up to the Spaniards.—THE EDITOR.

that there was in the same proportion a growth of the means on which they could count to achieve their material and intellectual progress; that many of them had left us hopelessly distanced; and that others which we had left behind formerly were setting their heels on us. What difference did it make that the productions of such countries increased more rapidly than ours; that in them there might be greater ease in the mobilization of wealth, and that credit might be more extensively developed; that in some, the savings-banks demonstrated, with their millions of deposits and their hundreds and thousands of depositors, how the habit of saving was increasing and how the national capitalization was being fostered? What did all this signify, in the face of the incomparable advantage we possessed of having a metallic circulating medium?

We both failed to note what was happening in other countries and we overlooked certain ominous signs of the perils that endangered our normal existence at home. The succession of years in which the national outflow considerably exceeded the income had accumulated a floating debt that increased like a ball of snow and threatened to become an avalanche; the expedient of covering a part of the deficits by short term loans seemed to be exhausted, both because of the quantity of them already in existence and because there had been a failure to pay even some of the interest on these advances; and even the obligations of the treasury, which for twenty years had been religiously met on the day they fell due, were not met after March, 1914. Exchange on foreign countries, which for years had been maintained at a discount, was quoted at a premium, from 1913. During the first six months of 1914, checks on London were sold invariably at a premium of $1\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., an exchange which then represented the unfavorable *gold point*³ for the country, and which proclaimed therefore a disequilibrium in our balance of international payments. In truth, much perspicacity was not required for supposing that, *if things had continued thus* our monetary sys-

tem would have been incapable of bearing the strain of so many unfavorable factors, and that the issue of fiscal notes would have given the finishing stroke to our financial disorders; for this is the logical consequence of a continued disequilibrium in the fiscal life of countries of as feeble an economic structure as ours. We, however, relying on the imaginary saving virtues of our metallic circulating medium, did not wish to see it thus, and we should have qualified as an impostor any one who might assert that the signs which we have indicated signified "fiscal note," and that of the worst kind, that issued to cover deficits.

The breaking out of the European conflict came to arouse us from our stupor with a violent shock. All our economic structure vacillated, and at certain points it gave way. The first to topple was, as it could not fail to be, the exclusively metallic circulation. Great were the surprise and consternation produced by the fact. Our minds were not prepared for the phenomenon, and as there existed no central bank, or any office of issue, or any of the indispensable institutions that are found in every advanced country for the control and regulation of the monetary system and of credit, it was necessary to create everything, and while this was being discussed and accomplished, the gravity of the situation and the immense dangers that threatened the country were augmented. Still vivid is the recollection of how want of comprehension and prevailing prejudices hindered and delayed the passage of the laws and decrees necessary to save the metal reserves existing in the banks, the sole foundation on which we could depend for the moment to create a temporary monetary system that would sustain the credit of the nation and prevent the danger of the collapse of our industries and commerce. At last, however, the good sense, and more than all, necessity, obtained the result: there were issued what, with a euphemism that signifies homage to deeply rooted oppositions, we call "circulating checks." The very grave crisis was weathered, and by the help of this issuance, which is, in truth, not the most perfect of its kind, the country has

³English in the original.—THE EDITOR.

been able to maintain until to-day its economic life. Four years have passed and the catastrophe that the Cassandras of an ill understood "mercantilism" preached to us has not occurred.

These last four years, those embraced more or less by the period over which the present issue has extended, are full of instruction. We have seen developed before our eyes, as in a moving-picture film, during this brief period, most interesting economic phenomena, which, under other circumstances, would have required perhaps dozens of years to appear and to complete the process of their evolution. Undeniable facts, which have come within the personal experience of all who live here, have combined to show the inconsistency of many prejudices and erroneous theories that had—and unfortunately still have—deep root in our environment. Let us note only one of them, which is very valuable: *that an exclusively metallic circulating medium is an imperfect monetary system and one that breaks down at the precise moment in which there is need of the greatest expansion of credit, and that a fiduciary symbol, a bill without intrinsic value, that is only backed in part by metal specie can be circulated among us, without depreciation and in compliance with all the demands of our economic life.* This is not a baseless theory: it is a fact the verification of which is within the reach of all.

The Argentine crisis of 1890, which was the consequence of very grave mistakes in banking policy, and the magnitude of which can hardly be estimated, produced as a result the establishment of the present Banco de la Nación Argentina, in 1891. In spite of the fact that this bank sprang up in the midst of the distrust caused by the economic *débâcle* in which the country was involved, and that it had as a basis for its operations, a greater wealth of sound principles and good purposes than effective capital, its sagacious policy has converted it into a banking power of first rank, the corner-stone of the enviable economic development of the republic of the Plata. To judge of its growth and of the influence it must necessarily exercise upon the business of that republic, it is sufficient to state that its deposits, which

in 1892 amounted to only 48,000,000 soles,⁴ this year exceed 800,000,000 soles. Thanks to its valuable assistance, the prolonged crisis that began at the end of 1910, with the drought of that year and the excessive speculation in land, and the one occasioned, in 1914, by the European war, did not attain the enormous extent, which, without its intervention, they would have attained. The monetary system was not affected and Argentine credit suffered no decline in the market of the world.

The North American crisis of 1907, the effects of which extended even to our own country, gave rise to the Aldrich-Vreeland law, which, with certain modifications, served to weather the crisis of 1914, as the federal reserve banks only began to function in November of that year; and these banks have served to make possible the enormous expansion of credit achieved since, without the production of the terrible consequences of the year 1907, when the demands made upon the market were incomparably inferior to those of the present.

According to Charles A. Conant:

The federal reserve act was designed to meet these three serious defects of the national banking system:

1. Lack of concentration of banking reserves.
2. Lack of elasticity in the system of note issue.
3. Absence of adequate facilities for expanding credit in periods of pressure through the system of rediscounts generally employed at European banks of issue.⁵

Without fulfilling these conditions, there can be no such thing to-day as a good banking system. At the last general meeting of the stockholders of the London City and Midland bank, this was admitted by Sir Edward Holden, the president of the bank and an eminent authority on the subject of banking. Sir Edward testified publicly to his admiration of the new American system and to the German banking

⁴The Peruvian *sol* (sun, a survival from the Incas), a silver coin, is normally equivalent to fifty cents of the money of the United States.—THE EDITOR.

⁵*History of Modern Banks of Issue*, by Charles A. Conant, New York, 1915, page 723. 14

system, upon the principles of which the American system was based, and he added that England ought to imitate them by seeking to reform the Peel law of 1844, upon the constitution of the bank of England.

We have made a special effort, in what relates to our monetary and banking system, and have insisted upon the necessity of its reform, because it constitutes, so to speak, the vertebral column of all our economic structure. If this system be defective, a strong economic organization and a satisfactory development of the national energies will be impossible. We believe firmly, with an authority as indisputable as A. Barton Hepburn, that: "Only by means of a sound monetary and banking system can a nation achieve true financial power and independence.⁶ We ought therefore to maintain and defend the valuable advantage of the gold standard as the basis of our monetary system, but we should not think that this is only possible under the imperfect and dangerous system of an exclusively metallic circulation. To defend, as a sole ideal, a return to this, when we shall discontinue the present temporary system, would mean going back to methods appropriate only to incipient and primitive societies and a renunciation of the advantages already acquired in this respect by other peoples.

The great event of the European war, however, has not merely laid upon us the duty of reforming our monetary and banking system. It obliges us also to subject to severe criticism and revision all our economic structure. We must make its foundations deeper and more solid and amplify it in harmony with our needs and with an eye to the future. There exist in our country many economic forces that are dormant or but slightly utilized. It is urgent to develop them, in order to obtain from them the maximum of return.

One of the means for achieving this would be the increase of capitalization, which could be secured, in part, by establishing a national savings-bank subventioned by the state. Chile has in this way

achieved magnificent results. The national savings-bank, whose branches are scattered throughout the country, has had a marvelous development, since, in a few years, its deposits have reached more than a million *pesos*,⁷ drawn from several hundred thousand depositors. The savings-bank section that the Banco de la Nación Argentina has established in its 176 branches, totaled, on December 31, 1916, the following figures: number of depositors, 181,503; amount of deposits, 310,861,915 pesos. The economic and educative value of the savings-bank is incalculable. In Perú, we have done almost nothing in this respect; for the savings-bank conducted by the Sociedad de Beneficencia de Lima, which has only about 19,000 depositors, is a local institution, without ramifications, and even on account of its office hours it has more likeness to ordinary banking institutions than to popular institutions of savings, properly so-called. It is worthy of all our respect and consideration, because of its circumspect directorate and its noble objects, but it is not in accord with modern requirements. A national savings-bank subventioned by the state would extend its influence to places where the establishment of branch banking houses would not be lucrative, and in them, as in all the places where it might be established, it would gather and make productive much capital that hoarding and ignorance withdraw from the national economic life. We shall soon have occasion to recount in these pages the infinite means utilized by Chile to stimulate saving; for they are instructive.

It is necessary that we should carefully ascertain if our means in respect of the mobilization of wealth are sufficiently efficacious. There must be some imperfection, especially in what refers to territorial credits, in view of the fact that the loans made according to the law reach a total in our country of no more than *Lp.*⁸

⁷The Chilean silver *peso*, which was intended to be equivalent to 18 pence, has varied much in value: in 1916 it was worth 20 cents, United States currency, in 1917 it rose to 30 cents, and at present is worth about 25 cents. The Argentine *peso* is worth about 45 cents.—THE EDITOR.

⁸*Lp.*, *libra peruana*, Peruvian pound: it is now worth from six to ten per cent. more than the pound sterling.—THE EDITOR.

⁶*A History of Currency in the United States*, by A. Barton Hepburn, New York, 1915, page III.

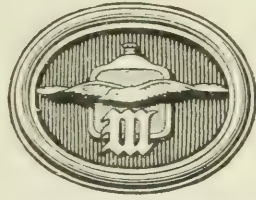
7,000,000; in Ecuador, of more than *Lp.* 2,000,000; and in Bolivia, of approximately the same amount as here. It is evident that the comparison is not favorable in respect of this valuable instrument of credit. If, among other reasons, it owes a part of its development to the savings-banks which, as in Chile, invest their capital in mortgage bonds, this expansion is not applicable to Bolivia and Ecuador, where the savings institutions are still in their beginning. Perhaps our backwardness may be due to the defective constitution of property in land, above all, in the provinces.

Finally, although it is not the least important consideration, we ought to reform completely the methods employed in the financial affairs of the state, which have frequently occasioned such profound disturbances in the economic life of the nation. The resources of the state, including credit, which has always been so much abused, ought to be managed, at least, with scientific judgment and according to the methods of a sound and austere policy. It is not to create a phrase, but in this respect we have already provided copious material on which a diligent economist might write an interesting treatise on how the public treasury ought not to be managed.

With some of these points we shall continue to occupy ourselves in these pages, according as God shall give us the time. Without dogmatism, without pretensions, we shall treat these subjects with sincerity, bringing to them the scarce and modest contingent of our experience and readings, and we shall consider that we have achieved our end, if our initiative moves persons of greater learning and authority to contribute to the elucidation of themes of so great interest for our country.

The world conflict reserves for us many surprises in the field of economic interests; but, whatever shall be the changes produced, one thing is now evident: all the nations are going to draw from the war the lesson that they must be sufficient unto themselves economically, as far as possible; all are preparing to develop an energetic policy of economic nationalism. As daily occurrences demonstrate to us the necessity that we ourselves should also follow in this path, we ought to prepare ourselves with prevision for the future, and not permit ourselves to be surprised by events. It is urgent that the unfruitful routinism of past years shall give way to methods more scientific and more productive of progress.





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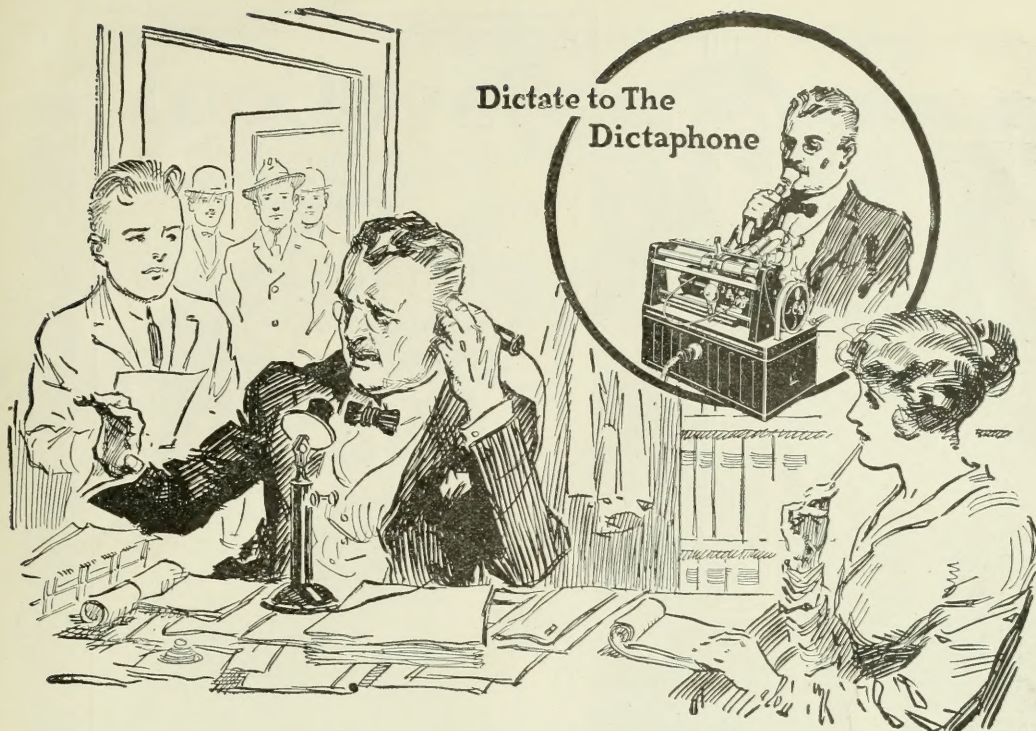
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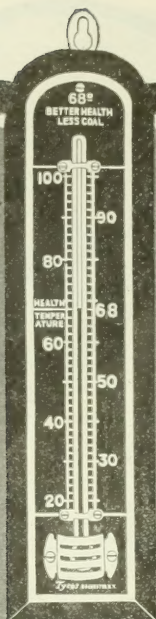
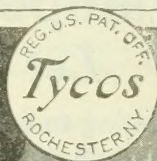
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